

THE  
LIFE  
OF  
DONNA OLIMPIA  
MALDACHINI,

*Who Governed the Church, during  
the time of Innocent the X.*

Which was from the Year 1644.  
to the Year 1655.

---

*Written in Italian by Abbot GUALDO:  
And faithfully rendred into English.*

---

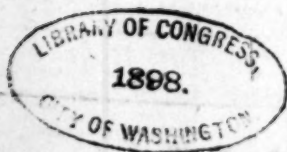
*Gregorio Leti*

---

L O N D O N,  
Printed by W. G. and are to be sold by  
Robert Littlebury at the Unicorn  
in Little Britain 1666.

BX4705  
P3663L43  
1666

19889



THE  
PREFACE.

**G**UALDI, the Authour of this little Treatise, was one that infinitely loved Truth; and had no doubt been Cardinal, could he have dispensed with that profitable Sin of Lying. None that have been Rome to any purpose, during the time of Innocent the tenth, or the beginning of Alexander the seventh, but must have heard of him at least; as being one of the greatest Wits of his time, ingenious, and of a modest temper, a great virtuous; one who considered Honour so much, and the World so little, that whoever knew him, must needs approve the work before he reads it. But truly, here there was no use of Lying, where so many considerable Truths might so easily be met with. For the Business is of so late a date, that it were infinite to examine what will yet be delivered by Eye-witness.

## The Preface.

Ses upon Enquiry. Indeed it is the great  
entertainment of Conversation at Rome,  
to relate the several Stories of Innocent  
the tenth, and his Sister-in-law Donna  
Olimpia. And surely if Oral Tradition  
be of that force, as the late Innovatours  
would have it; they themselves must con-  
fess (to their own shame and confusion)  
the truth of this Story: and by the great  
example layed before us, that the Church-  
men of the Roman Faith, will do any  
thing with a Woman, but Marry her. It  
must not be expected that the tenth part  
of the Lady's story is to be found in this  
small Volume: for I suppose a full Rela-  
tion would take up more Paper, than the  
learned Mans Works, who hath troubled  
the World with two sheets for each day  
his Life. But this he writ to undeceive  
such as took Rome for the Model of the  
Heavenly Jerusalem, and the Pope and  
Cardinals for the Mayor and Aldermen  
of the Corporation. It is probable Don-  
na Olimpia, who had a spite at all deser-  
ving persons, did whet the Pen of this good

## The Preface.

Man by some Affronts or Injuries, and  
provoke his Zeal to a more vigorous pro-  
secution of the Work: as God knows, we  
have all need to be awaked by some un-  
reasonable passion to do reason: Yet I  
dare say, nothing should tempt him to say  
more than truth. And now, if matters  
have gone thus at Rome, what hopes of  
Infallibility? Donna Olimpia indites to  
Innocent, some broad-backed Groom or  
Coach-man suggests to her, and where  
to find the first mouth of this Oracle is not  
to be determined. This Pope was chose  
for his Senselessness: For when the Con-  
clave had been tired out with bandying of  
Factions, and were resolved to pitch up-  
on some indifferent person; not being able  
to find out any among themselves honest  
enough to keep to that Integrity, they  
chose this as the greatest Block-head, and  
so least able to do mischief. I have heard  
of an old Civilian, who with drinking  
Sack and studying the Laws, had so ad-  
dled his Brain; that having occasion fre-  
quently to pass by a Chappel Door, which  
A 3 joyned

## The Preface.

joyned to that he came out of, would never fail to piss against it: and is it any wonder that he who had beaten out his little Wits upon the dull Volumes of the Canon-law, and so long doted upon a Woman, should do worse, not only at the Church Door, but within the very Rails of the Altar? In the mean time, though Children and Fools will be pleased with Bables: shall they think to impose upon the reasonable part of the World, and exempt the Pope from that determination in the Text, Every Man is compassed about with Infirmities? The Jesuit brags much of his Harvest here in England, while we hold our selves obliged to them for weeding our Church of such Creatures; who, if the soberest of their own Party be to be believed, conduce more to the shame, than propagation of their Sect. So that we may say of them, They Went out from among us, because they were not of us. However, that which carrys on the work of these Ecclesiastical Mountebanks much more effectually among us, is that they

## The Preface.

they subtly practise the method of the Devil, tempting the weaker Sex, and through their Charms draw the poor male into their Net. For who can shew his head in this Generation, and be so little a Courtier, as to deny the impertinent demand of a fair Lady? It is very seasonable therefore this accompt to the World, for a Pope in these our days to warn us of the sad effects of love transported beyond the bounds of Honour and Vertue in his own person: thus to confront the impudence of Rome, which, while it pretends to direct all Christians, by I know not what entayled Donation, tells us by its practices, what once in the time of the Ligue the Cardinal Legat at his entry into Paris, said all the time he intimated a Benediction by the cross motion of his Hand, Qui vult decipi, decipiatur: He that will be an Ass, may. But I shall stop here, lest I should draw a Wasps Nest about the Asses of the dead. The truth is, the Authour is thought never to have designed this for the Press: but only  
writ

## The Preface.

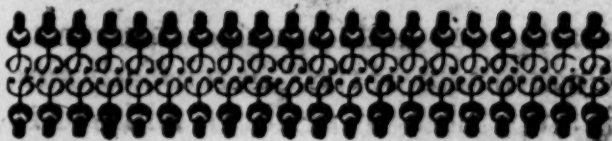
writ it to satisfie the curiosity of some particular Friends. However they, who most esteemed him, judged it fit since his Death to eternize his Name, by publishing so ingenious a Piece. Some were of opinion to moderate certain Expressions: but the most thought it not so equitable, to impose upon the Dead. It is therefore to be taken, as it was first brought forth: and if any find ought to say against it, let them write into the next World to the Authour for an Answer, and keep in their right Senses till it comes.

---

The

---

hu  
wo  
ow  
yes  
rite  
e



# The LIFE

O F

*Donna Olimpia Maldachini.*

**I**T is not my designe to give an accurate account of *Donna Olimpia's* Life; who in the City of *Rome* acted a Man in Womans apparel, and in the church a woman wearing the breeches, would require a Pen, all eyes, to set down the Life of a Lady, who cast her eyes so universally upon all affairs. To write the faults without mentioning the virtues of a person, who for ten  
B . years

years space had so great a share in the Government of the Church Catholick; is impossible to perform, without the reputation of a Heretick: and to mention the virtues only, would be to dip my Pen in the Ink without staining of it. Our Age hath felt too much the smart of the activity of this Lady: So that if a Writer should take never so much pains to separate the wheat from the chaff, that is, to pick out the good and leave the bad, according to the custom of the present times, when they treat of great persons; the world hath beheld so much chaff before the wheat could be discovered, that such a story would win no credit.

I must needs say, it was a very foolish Age, that invented Writing: if its only end were to make false appear true, and true false. Much better had it been to have left mens manners to be deliver'd down by tradition from eye to eye, than to such Scribes. Doubtless the world took very ill advice  
 who

when it subjected the reputation of Mankind to the *capricio* of a frail pen. And certainly it hath been great inadvertency in man to let a mischief grow so beyond the cure of Ages.

But why do I thus decry Writing, while I my self pretend to write? Alas! to write what one is an eye-witness of is so natural, as the contrary is estranging the world from it self. Give me leave therefore to say with the Apostle St. John, *What we have beheld with our eyes, what we have seen, and our hands have touched: that declare we unto you.*

I will write no other thing of *Donna Olimpia* but what I have seen in her. Her descent I will omit: only that she was born of the Family of *Maldachini*, which name made but little noise in *Rome* at that time. However I would verily willingly have spoke of her childhood and education: but that I saw her marryed before a Virgin. She was born before me: so that I cannot speak of what I have not seen, without break-

ing my promise of delivering only what the Theatre of *Rome* hath represented to my eyes for the space of five and twenty years and upwards. I will but deliver what the common report of those, which knew her in her younger dayes, hath informed me of. That from her very infancy almost she shewed an ambition to rule: insomuch as at her childish playes amongst her companions, she alone would ever give law to the rest. Thus she grew up, and thus she lived even till she arrived to the years of marriage. It is said, that her Parents, considering the small share they had in Fortunes favour, used all means possible (as it is ordinary in *Italy*) to make her resolve upon a Monastick life. But she, that had more propension to Matrimony, than a Vow, denied flatly to yield to any such purpose.

She was therefore given in marriage to Seignior *Pansilio*, brother to *Gioanne Baptista Pansilio*, who came afterwards

to be Pope. These Nuptials were celebrated in *Rome* with satisfaction on both sides, as loving reciprocally. Which kindness produced a numerous off-spring of females, with but one only male, which is *Prince Panfilio*, who served for the state to his Mothers interests. The first Scene that represents it it self (as I may say) in the Tragic-comedy of the *Life of Donna Olimpia*, is the coolness of affection towards her Husband; which by little begun to discover it self, without any grounds the good man could find out for it. Nevertheless, how difficult soever it was to the Husband, the *Romans* easily smothered the cause. Who seeing how fond he was of her Brother-in-law, began to have a general suspicion of her virtue; as believing for a certain the times of *Herod* were revived. Nor may we blame any for thinking amiss of these two; when their actions, gestures and behaviour gave so palpable grounds of suspicion.

B 3

Donna Olimpia

as may further appear

*Donna Olimpia* went much oftner in in the Coach with her Brother-in-law, than with her Husband : entertained her self much more in the Closet with the one, then in Bed with the other : and many times the poor Husband knew not where to find either Brother or Wife, that is in plain English, they always went together.

There was but one reason, which qualified this foul suspicion. And that was, divers debated it, nor could imagine, that a Lady as *Donna Olimpia* who had a body of no ordinary shape, should be in love with the ugliest countenance that ever appeared in humane shape, as it is most certain her Brother-in-law was. Especially since her Husband had something pleasing and comely in him, though not exceeding. Whereas this could only give evidence how great is the ambition of Women to domineer : which passion blinds them to that degree, they will not only surrender themselves up to Men, but Satyrs.

Seignior

Seignior *Panfilio* , the Husband of *Donna Olimpia* , following the common practice of *Italy* , did all his business without calling his Wife to counsel. On the other side , the Abbot *Panfilio* his Brother never entred upon any affair publick or private , but first acquainted his Sister-in-law with it; whose advice he took his measure by , as from an Oracle : nay often times he went not abroad , before he had received her benediction.

Nor is this so wonderful: since the greatest part of the Prelates in *Rome* take this course to oblige such Ladies as are ambitiously inclined. And indeed if they did not do so , they would be as much hated , as they are now beloved of the Ladies of their relations. However this kind of condescension makes Prelates of Ladies , and Ladies of Prelates , to the no small shame of *Rome*.

Notwithstanding that which was no great matter for another man , found

X  
vile  
page  
5.17

some difficulty in the person of Abbot *Panfilio* : who conscious of his unwellcome face to woman-kind , studied to win the love of his Sister-in-law by presenting her with the entire dispose of his will. She, who desired nothing more than the exercise of such a power , freely bestowed her affections the more to oblige him to an absolute surrender of himself. Thus the more he submitted his will to *Donna Olimpia*, the more love she heaped upon him. Being stepped from an Abbot to a Prelate , and advancing daily in Ecclesiastical preferments : *Donna Olimpia* had still a longer field to exercise her authority in. For she was resolved her Brother-in-law should not do the least matter without her : who most willingly submitted himself to her disposal. Meanwhile the Husband dies : by which means she remained not only Mistress of her Brother-in-laws will ; but also of all the affairs of the house of *Panfilio* which went no farther then the Brother

other, the Son and two Daughters.  
 How great the respect was this Brother-in-law had for her, may be judged by a Letter which lit into my hands by accident. It came from *Spain*, where *Seignior Panfilio* was *Nuntio*, directed to *Donna Olimpia* at *Rome*, and was this.

*Most dear Sister,*

**M***Y affairs in Spain succeed not so fortunately as they did at Rome: since I am at Rome, and not in Spain, I had the assistance of your advice. Remote from you I am like a Ship without a Rudder, I rest to the sole mercy of Fortune: So much I am forced to say in testimony of my affection, I beseech you to answer me at length to what I write by the hand of my Secretary, and to believe me*

Your most affectionate servant  
 and Brother *PANFILIO*.

An incredible story to one that had not read it: that a publick Minister should

should write such fond Letters to a woman, without regard had to Reputation, or apprehension how easie it is for Letters to miscarry, as in effect this did. But since he had delivered himself over as a prey to this Lady; what could he do less?

Indeed this Letter was a great evidence of their love, and confirmation to what the speculative people gave out, *That Donna Olimpia gave instructions to the Popes Nuntio's.* But it will not be out of the way to touch a little upon the Nature of this Lady: before she mount the *Vatican*, if not with the *Miter*, at least with the Command.

She was one of few words in the ordinary company of Ladies: but made it up sufficiently, when she came to discourse with men. Though this could not be called properly her nature: because she would often say, she had no words to cast away upon a Sex, from which nothing was to be learned worth mentioning. By which you may gather

*masculine Olimpia!*

and he forced her Nature to condescend to  
her Judgement.

Her discourses were alwayes prop-  
ed with Reasons of State, and many  
times with the addition of some sen-  
tence : which made people think she  
had studied much, though there was  
no such thing. *She* had so happy a me-  
mory, that, with once hearing or read-  
ing over she would remember any  
thing : which made her be thought a  
lady of great learning. It was very  
hard for her to submit to the opinion of  
another, without offering great vio-  
lence to her nature. And it is certain,  
she had rather perish with her own fan-  
cy, than live by anothers counsel.

She was covetous to that degree, as  
she would not so much as hear any body  
talk of the bounty of others. Nay by  
certain maxim she held, she made a  
vertue of that vice, by excusing her  
avarice with this pretence, *That Women*  
*were made to gather, not to dispend.* She  
often changed her Servants : left in  
time

time they should become too familiar with her conduct. And indeed the Servants commonly mutiny'd before the years end for want of their wages. She went seldom or never to Feasts, Balls, or other recreations, which the Ladies of *Rome* use to divert themselves with: lest she should be obliged to make the like. That which gave her the greatest reputation, was her charity to the poor Religious. Though she did it rather out of vain-glory, than Religion: She never did an alms, till she had not first carried in procession round the Palace. And indeed she was no sooner got into the *Vatican* under the protection of *Innocent*: then alms and Religious deeds were laid aside. Which shews plainly what she did before was feigned. Hence *Pasquin* made bold to say that *Donna Olimpia* was *olim pia nunc impia*. She had some goodness heretofore, but now she was good for nothing.

She neglected the education of her Children.

children, especially of her Son: for  
 as it might waken his spirits a little,  
 a future disturbance of her absolute  
 power over the house of *Panfilio*. A  
 abolical principle which reigns in the  
 hearts of almost all the great Ladies.  
 Thus *Don Camillo* grew up in igno-  
 rance, that he could hardly read at  
 twenty years of age. She kept no great  
 table, and made her Steward bring in  
 Accompts every day to a far-  
 ing. Complements she would be-  
 stow most liberally, and promise much  
 more than any one could ask of her:  
 well knowing that she had the knack of  
 excusing her self, and denying what-  
 ever she had promised, being most ex-  
 pedit and ready at it.

When her Brother-in-law was made  
 Cardinal; it was not to be imagined  
 what joy she received it: promi-  
 sing her self from that moment hopes  
 of a higher advance. *Panfilio's* red Hat  
 made *Donna Olimpia* grow higher by the  
 day. Her Brother-in-laws Scarlet en-  
 flamed

flamed her heart to a more passionate kindness, and so much the more by the death of her Husband, which removed all obstacles from diverting her love upon any other object. They lived together, and ate together for the most part. Whosoever had any grace to demand of Cardinal *Panfilio*, must have applied himself to *Donna Olimpia*: but he must seek to the Cardinal for a grace from her. When any one had received a denial from the Cardinal, they never took it amiss, only it might be said as they went out, *Perchance he hath not spoke with Donna Olimpia*.

*Donna Olimpia* was she that taught the Cardinal the art of dissimulation, though it be an ancient and one of the most principal customs of the Court of *Rome*. I my self heard her one day talk in this manner to the Cardinal.

*Brother, it is not to be expressed what sparks of joy your Scarlet kindles in my heart: far beyond the pleasure you yourself can take in it, who have the kiss*

of my affections. It was your merit and  
that Urban's kindness that made you Car-  
dinal: who could not refuse the Hat to a  
Prelat, that so well knows how to serve  
the Church. Desert may call a man to be  
Cardinal; but never Pope, which requires  
other qualifications. I do not see that  
they call men to this eminent degree, who  
are really good; but such as seem to be so.  
It is the outward not the inward man,  
that makes a Pope. He that will be a Car-  
dinal must speak with all, and have to do  
with all: but he that would mount Saint  
Peter's Chair, must change the Scene, and  
speak little, and have to do with no body.  
The Cardinals demur not upon virtue in  
the election of a Pope: the only virtue at  
such a time consists in the pensive looks of  
some Cardinal. All the Histories teach us,  
and the experience of Urban hath made  
us see, that the Popes change their nature,  
which during the time of their Cardina-  
late appears to have been in them, and not  
of them. Nothing now remains to accom-  
plish the happiness of the house of Panfilio,  
and

*and my content ; but to see you seated in the throne of the Vatican. That Fortune which hath promoted so many others to such an honour without merit or expectation ; may as well advance you , who worth bath just reason to expect it. Sixtus Quintus , who was a most learned person feigned ignorance all the while he was Cardinal : very well knowing that such a disssembled simplicity had more efficacy to mount the Chair , than a speculative understanding.*

To these exhortations she likewise added some more ; which to deal clearly , I think not befitting an Ecclesiastical pen to set down ; besides , that would put me upon relating , what I saw with my eyes , which God forbid . It is sufficient to know the whole design and care of Donna Olimpia was night and day to mind the Cardinal of putting on the mask of dissimulation , which she used to call the Porter of the Vatican.

Neither had these remembrances

any ill success with the Cardinal. For though he was sufficiently ill natured : yet was he very simple, and ignorant in many Court Maxims which are peculiar almost to *Rome*. And therefore knowing that the whole design of his Sister-in-law was his advancement, and having none more intimate to confer with, he entertained long conferences with her perpetually till the next Election, expecting daily, by reason of the great age of *Urban*, an empty chair.

In order to his success, the good Cardinal was become Master at dissimulation in all particulars, but his love to his Sister-in-law : in the Congregation none more un-concerned, in Conversation humble, and in the Church he raised the Devout to a hair ; yet all this while it was impossible to conceal his Passion for *Donna Olimpia*. He loved her and idolized her as well in publick as private : to the astonishment of every body, that a Cardinal, who had

his pretences, though remote enough in some share to the next Election should enslave himself so much to the love of a Lady, and his Relation.

Büt *Donna Olimpia* had a transcendent talent in the Politicks. She knew at the same time how to be compliant to her Brother-in-law, and turn his resolutions to her own bent: and yet so neatly, that the generality could find no objection against her. Indeed she understood so well how to hide the power she bore over the Cardinals will, that it was much more easie to discover in the Slave then the Mistress. She alwayes spoke of her Brother-in-law with great modesty and respect, and would sift out with a great deal of art the inclinations of the other Cardinals towards hers.

When it came in her way to speak with any of the *Spanish* faction, she would represent the great devotion of the Cardinal her Brother-in-law had to the Crown of *Spain*. On the other  
side

side, if she met with any of the *French* faction, she assured them of the inward affection her Kinsman retained for the *French*, with which upon occasion he would be more serviceable to them under hand, than others that made shew of open friendship.

Towards the latter end of *Urban* the 8<sup>th</sup>. every moment seemed an age to *Donna Olimpia*. For having with a great deal of secrecy procured one of the most Eminent Astrologers to Calculate the Nativity of her Cardinal, she found by his Horoscope, that in the seventieth year of his Age he was to be promoted to the highest dignity in the Church; whence she concluded infallibly he must be Pope.

*Urban* dying in the mean time in the year 1643. in the month of *May*, which was much upon the Seventieth year of the Cardinal: the confusion and distraction she found the Court in at that time fortified her hopes with much more strong assurances.

The Cardinals use not to enter the Conclave upon the death of the Pope till after ten dayes be passed. In which time they ballance the interests of the severall Crowns, with the manners and inclinations of those Cardinals which pretend, or that ordinarily they judge to have some ground of pretention. Now, it is, if ever, that the Embassadors demonstrate their zeal in employing all their industry for the service of their Masters. They talk with this and that man, bespatter with a thousand calumnies those they dislike, extolling the vertues of those they approve with as much partiality. So that the multitude, who esteem by hear-say, set up a new Idol every half hour. They make more Popes than there are Cardinals, and many times the *Spaniards* decry those of the *French* faction, and the *French* those of the *Spanish*, to that degree; as the poor people cannot find amongst all the Cardinals one worthy their choice. The life and conversation

of Cardinals at such a time is as cheap  
 as Onions in the Market : where you  
 may see their Eminences stand like so  
 many poor Lambs at Sale. He that is  
 bought up to day, to morrow is brought  
 down low. In this Corner of *Rome* is  
 certainly concluded such a Cardinal  
 shall be Pope ; in another that the same  
 shall never be. In an instant it is repor-  
 ted all over the City, that the *Spaniards*  
 have carried it : and the next moment  
 there is no such thing. How many  
 Popes are made by the people , that  
 neither *French* nor *Spaniard* ever  
 thought of : and by the *French* and  
*Spaniard* unknown to the people !  
 In such a pickle was *Rome* during the  
 vacancy after *Urban's* death. When  
*Donna Olimpia* with all the diligence  
 imaginable applyed her self to discover  
 the intrigues, combinations and designs  
 of the Cardinals and Embassadors, as  
 to the Election of the new Pope. And  
 though she was naturally covetous :  
 yet in this conjuncture spared she no

cost in Spies to procure the best information. She had her Emissaries in every part; even to search into the hearts of men, if it were possible. But all in vain. For she could inform her self of nothing more, than that her Brother-in-law was layed aside, as to any hope of the Chair. And it is certain, that the Cardinals at their first entring into the Conclave, preferred the whole rest of the College before Cardinal *Panfilio*.

One day as the Cardinals were shut up in the Conclave, it was told *Dona Olimpia* that there was but one only reason that hindred her Kinsman from being Pope; and that was the ill understanding he had with the *Barbarines* to which she presently answered, *that be all, this very thing will make him Pope; since none are more hated this time than the Barbarines.*

The Cardinals came into the Conclave with a firm resolution not so much as to mention *Panfilio*. Not in consideration

ation of his little merit. For that is an *Objection* never takes place in the Conclave, where the Cardinals in no wise suffer goodnels to come into the scale. For so he were an Enemy to the *French*, the *Spanish* faction would chuse a *Pope*: were he the like to the *Spaniard*, the *French* would chuse him, though it were the Devil himself: and for the Cardinal Nephews of the last Pope, who are alwayes upon this occasion most vigilant, they would set up Antichrist to be assured of his Friendship.

The night before the Conclave began, Cardinal *Panfilio* had a long conference with his Sister-in-law. What it was I could never learn further, then that some will have *Donna Olimpia* to have told him at parting, *Perchance I shall see you Pope, but never more Cardinal*. To which it is said he replied, *Were you but Popeess, I would willingly relinquish my claim*. There was now six Weeks passed in the Conclave that the Cardinals had not the least thought

of *Panfilio* : nor when they did begin to mention him , was it without Ten thousand difficulties. The *Spaniards* who perceived all his creatures layed aside, pressed hotly for the inclusiveness of *Panfilio* : but the *French* instigated by Cardinal *Antonio Barbarino* made all their endeavours to have him excluded.

There were many reasons why Cardinal *Panfilio* was neither desired, nor approved of. His Satyrick, Sower Brutish, Saturnal look made him be taken for a contumacious spirit. Which gave some occasion to say, It would not do well to chuse an universal Father (such as in a manner is the Pope) with such a beastly, deformed countenance, lest he should fright his Children with his looks from coming near him.

Others accepted against him for his want of knowledge and learning, having spent all his time in dreaming over the Canon Laws, which he begun to falter in too. So that he was fancied to prove a Prince not much inclined to favour

giving favour learning, which is so essential  
to the good of the Church. Besides his  
study of the Laws was looked upon as  
such as would make him sick of all  
that were eminent in any other kind.  
Neither were these Diviners deceived:  
for during his reign the Church was ser-  
ved with ignorant Prelates, and many  
deserving persons kept out of Bishop-  
ricks, nay persecuted so far as to be  
banished *Rome*.

It was foreseen in him by others (and  
indeed had like wholly to have  
excluded him) that if he were elected,  
the power would be subjected to the  
will of a woman, through those  
tongues of affection he bore to his King's  
woman, who, as I have told you  
before, was absolute Mistress of his  
will. And this Objection lay the har-  
den upon him, because all the Cardinals  
knew very well how deep root this  
love had taken in his heart; and there-  
fore a hard matter to take off the  
impression, besides the consideration  
of

of what a pernicious spirit was *Donna Olimpia*.

This was the consideration that fortified Cardinal *Antonio* and the French faction in their opposition: which they objected as the only motive to exclude him. They pleaded that as the state of affairs went, it was dangerous to give the Hereticks such an occasion of scandal. Who would not fail of a thousand pretences, seeing the Pope resign the whole disposal of his resolutions to a woman, to defame the Church with Libels, that should be dispersed about *Rome* daily under the name of *Pasquin*. Besides that the past kindnesses betwixt *Panfilio* and *Donna Olimpia*, which hitherto were gone no further than the City of *Rome*, would be divulged over the whole world, to the no mean scandal of all Christendom.

All this nevertheless helped but to delude the Court, and shew the weakness of those that opposed *Panfilio*. For

the more Cardinal *Antonio* strove to frustrate his Election, the more he prognosticated the decree of Fate, which had determined the fortune of Dominion in a man of this kidney. Thus unexpected to *Rome*, in despite of Cardinal *Antonio*, and the astonishment of those very persons that gave their voices for him, was *Panfilio* made Pope, taking upon him the name of *Innocent*.

How *Donna Olimpia* received this news, let those judge that have heard talk how predominant the ambition of the rule was in her, and the influence she had upon her Brother-in-law.

So highly was she transported with joy, that from fifty yeers, which was her age, she seemed to be restored to five and twenty.

She flung open the gates of her Kinsmans Palace, now Pope, to the people who came to rifle it, with demonstrations of great Satisfaction. They say also, that some days before this Election

a certain Prelate to 'curry favour with Donna Olimpia' (which he did as well to the relations of all the rest of the Cardinals, that were in election to be Pope) went to advise her, that her Brother-in-law would undoubtedly be Pope; and therefore she would do well to remove the richest furniture from becoming a prey to the people who are accustomed always at the Election of a Pope, to rifle the Palace of his Cardinalship: but *Donna Olimpia* told the good man, *That on that condition her Brother-in-law were Pope, she would not sacrifice the Palace, but herself to the people.* Indeed so she said, but she did it not. For her avarice prevailed so far with her, that she hid the best goods. So as the people finding no great matter: began from that time to receive ill impressions of the most insatiable avarice of this Lady.

The visits a new Pope used to receive were few, giving audience only to those of his most intimate confederacy,

with acy, before he was settled; though  
from the first hour of Election they  
have the absolute power: whereas  
those to *Donna Olimpia* were frequent  
beyond belief. The nobility of *Rome*  
locked to her in Troops, the Embassa-  
dours, the Cardinals, and the Ladies:  
all which she received with a most ob-  
liging countenance at the beginning,  
all afterwards, that she begun to find  
her self fast in the seat, she put on a look  
that sower'd all.

The very night *Panfilio* was chosen,  
about two hours after the day was set  
on, she went privately to the Popes  
palace to give him a visit: who recei-  
ved her with great demonstrations of  
affection, and it was observed in kissing  
his Feet *Donna Olimpia* and the Pope  
both wept for joy. This Lady enter-  
tained here self here till midnight, the  
doors shut all the while, only that  
signior *Camillo*, her Son, went in and  
out several times. By the Popes per-  
mission she visited all the Chambers,  
even

even to his bed, which she would see whether it was well made or no, giving order for the disposal of other furniture.

Next day, when she was come home she began to take the state of a Princess upon her with all those that came to visit her. Cardinal *Antonio*, who apprehended more than others what afterwards befell him, shewed the greatest respect and reverence towards her. Insomuch as it was observed when he complemented her, he often repeated the title of Excellence; besides that he was not with the last that presented both her and her Son. But the good Lady finding it was now the time to revenge those injuries she had received from the *Barbarines*, made no great return to Cardinal *Antonio's* civilities, receiving them with a great deal of coolness, as probably keeping in mind the rumour this Cardinal had set about in the Town concerning her amours with her Brother-in-law.

This action renders her worthy the title of treacherous. For when *Urban* lay a dying, and during the vacancy, both by her self and others she held the *Barbarines* in hopes with fair promises, that if her Brother-in-law chanced to be Pope, they should not only be confirmed in their present prosperity, but advanced. Though it is very true, the *Barbarines*, well read in the Court dissimulations, gave no great heed to her words, but opposed his Election with all their power. So that *Donna Olimpia* on the other side perceiving their diffidence, resolved to trust them as little.

The first thing *Donna Olimpia* procured at Court, was the ruine of the *Barbarines*. However knowing it would prove no easie matter through the unblameable life of Cardinal *Francesco* and the strong interest of *Don Tadeo* to oppress a family fortified with so immense a treasure as that was; she counselled the Pope only to the destruction

ction of Cardinal *Antonio*, as assuring her self of matter enough to attaque the life of a person so much hated in Rome:

It was reported with a great deal of truth, that the Pope had not persecuted the Cardinal to that degree, had not *Donna Olimpia* been so frequent in her importunities. Though he hated him for many reasons, particularly for the opposition he made against his Election: yet was he resolved for all this but to mortifie him a little. But *Donna Olimpia* pressed still his utter extirpation, that she might get his Abbies and other Revenues into her clutches. Which indeed, as to his possessions she effected, though she missed of his life. For the Cardinal being warned of the Popes good intentions, and *Donna Olimpia's*, fled disguised through Italy into France, scaping narrowly at Savoy to be seized Prisoner. And now assuredly had he then fallen into the Popes hands, he had been tryed for his life.

life, and executed. But God had mercy upon him.

*Donna Olimpia* was designed immediately to remove into the *Vatican*, and set up her station next the Pope. Which she had not only yielded to, but sought; nor Cardinal *Panzicolo* by force of reason could not labour to divert both himself and her from such thoughts; Representing it as scandalous not only to *Rome*, but the whole world: as enough to confirm the truth of those rumours, which were as yet doubtful to many: Upon this consideration, the Pope made her keep at home: But withall, gave her leave to come every day (or might I should say rather; because it was commonly after Sun-set, she went and stayed there till mid-night) into his presence, which he never failed of.

This Cardinal *Panzicolo* was the on-  
ly engine that set the great mass of the  
Pope's brains a going after *Donna Olim-*  
pia. Nay, oftentimes he had greater in-  
fluence upon the Pope, than *Donna*

D

*Olimpia*

*Olimpia* her self. He had exactly the length of the Pope's foot, and knew how to advise him suitable to his inclinations; which was a great satisfaction and ease to his Holiness, with whom he would confer all day, and sometimes the night too. For this Pope had a laudable custome, never to go to bed till after mid-night. Quite contrary to his Predecessour; who went to his Rest presently after the Evening, and got up again at break of day, to dispatch the publick Affairs.

The Government of this Pope was a little embroyled, while Cardinal *Parricicolo* lived. For he made it his endeavour for the most part to disappoint the Counsels of *Donna Olimpia*: And she on the other side to find some objections still to what he advised. But after the death of this Cardinal, the Government was wholly Feminine and scandalous to the justification of what the Cardinals, *Lantes* and *Barbarino*, declared in the Conclave. Cardinal *Lantes*, who

was a man of an exact experienced wisdom, was demanded what Judgment he would give of Cardinal *Panfilio*, in case he came to be Pope: who answered without demur, *That he would be a good Pope from the Pontomolle to Rome; the which Bridge is but a mile from Rome.* meaning that he would do good for the City of *Rome*, by Buildings and other Ornaments, for the aggrandizing the honours of *Rome*, as in effect he did: but he added, *That he would prove very pernicious to the State, and profit of Christendom; besides, that many particular persons would smart for it.*

This Cardinal, without doubt, took his measure from the absolute devotion the Pope bore to his Sister-in-laws will: concluding that as Women think of nothing farther than what they have before their eyes, and within reach of their hands; the Pope would surely lay all other Considerations aside, through *Donna Olimpia's* advice for the embellishing of *Rome*, to the neglect of

Church and State : Nor was he out of his Prophecy.

In the same manner Cardinal *Francesco Barbarino*, a man of a most exemplary life, being intreated to give his opinion of Cardinal *Panfilio*, presently replied ; *He would make an excellent Pope for the Women.* A Sentence so notorious to be interpreted a Prophecy. To say the truth, *Donna Olimpia* disposed of all the Court Affairs, public and private : There not being the least Business ordered without her good liking, in part at least. For most frequently, as he hath been treating with Cardinal *Panziccolo* about any particular, it hath been heard come from his Holiness his mouth, *What will Donna Olimpia say?* Which makes it most probable, that he was afraid of displeasing her. For which Reason, *Panziccolo* consulted with *Donna Olimpia* for the most part before he proposed any business to the Pope ; for fear he might otherwise contract the Odium of the aspiring Lady.

She importuned to have her Son made Cardinal, which was not refused; and to have him declared *Cardinal Patron*, as being a Title conferred always upon the Pope's nearest New. *Donna Olimpia* was induced to this upon a double motive; neither of which proceeded from any natural affection, but meerly politick. The first was to lessen Cardinal *Panzicolo's* Interest with the Pope, by taking the Management of Affairs off his hands: Promising her self for certain, when once *Cardinal Patron* should be declared, whom of course belongs the Management of Affairs both publick and private, *Panzicolo* would voluntarily abate himself from the Court; besides, that the Pope having so near a help, should seek no further. The other was to make her self more absolute: For though her Son were in so considerable Station, yet by the incapacity of the subject she made no doubt to be Mistress, her poor child not daring to

trust his own strength in any business without the advice of his Mother. And no doubt it had proved so, if her Son had not repented so soon of his bargain in taking such a task upon him.

The Pope undertook at the creation of his Nephew Cardinal, to instruct him by degrees in the conduct of public Affairs; being conscious of his mighty ignorance. But the Nephew, instead of advancing, went backward, notwithstanding in so many months to the capacity of negotiating the least circumstance alone. For which his Uncle reproved him a thousand times a day, and called him a block-head. To prevent which fault there came not the least business to him that he did not consult his Mother, which fell out to her hearts desire. To the defect of his, as it made him avoid business to his power: so was he likewise troubled at it to find himself engaged in what suited not with his talent or way of living. In this mean while the Princess *Rossana* became a Widow

men which he could not have wished for a better occasion: nor would he lose it, but resolved immediately to comply by his Scarlet, and marry the Princess, against the consent both of Mother and Pope.

There was no great distance of time betwixt his renuntiation to the Cardinalship and his Wedding: to the astonishment of *Rome*, at so unexpected a marriage. The news of this was no sooner brought to the Pope's ears, than he held a two hours conference with *Donna Olimpia*, to resolve what was to be done in this case. The result of which was, that the Prince *Camillo* and his Lady, should be banished from *Rome*. Upon which the Orders were brought him to depart, to the amazement of all people. However it was submitted to, though not without some regret on the Princess her side: who being dissatisfied at such usage, took the liberty to utter some discourse, which made not for the honour of the Pope, or reputation of *Donna Olimpia*. There

There was none but wondred at the disgrace : there not being the least objection to the Match, that might displease his Holiness ; especially since he was the only branch of the house of *Panfilio* : Surely the Pope ought to have excused his natural infirmities, and have approved his noble change, much conducing for the keeping up the Family. Besides the considerableness of the fortune with a person of his quality, beauty, and youth : all which she had in perfection, with several other vertues, and the hopes of a numerous off-spring, which was fulfilled by the production of three Sons. One would think the Pope had more reason to commend than quarrel his Nephew after all this.

Those that looked more narrowly into circumstances, would not have to be any dislike the Pope took against his Nephew, that he was in disgrace but out of a certain vain-glory, to make the world believe him a zealous Patriarch

the patriarch, in laying aside all considerations of his blood and family, to vindicate the honour of the Church, which he looked upon as undervalued by his Nephews laying down his Cardinals Cap.

The other design in banishing his Nephew, as many will have it, proceeded from this reason : That the Pope perceiving the Revenue of the house of *Aldobrandino*, which was that of the Princess, charged with Legacies and other incumbrances, did his Nephew this courtesie by banishing of him ; that being out of the way in the Country for the most part, he was exempt from that expence and state he must otherwise have been at upon the Marriage of a Popes Nephew with a Princess born to so great a fortune : By this means declining the present charge the inheritance came in the more clear. But this was a consideration so fordid, that I can scarce believe it of a private Person : much less of a Prince, whose mind

mind is daily excited to generous actions.

This discourse, to say the truth, begun in the shops amongst the Tradesmen who for the most part measure by the largeness of their own Souls, at six per cent. However it gained credit through the discourse and opinion of the more refined Courtiers: who said, the Pope would never have done this of himself but that Cardinal *Panzicolo* seeing the importunity and noise *Donna Olimpia* made for the banishment of these two persons, to humour the business, gave this out for the reputation of the Pope's good nature, and *Donna Olimpia*'s avarice.

But it is time I now shew you, what *Donna Olimpia* forced her self to put her Son in disgrace with his Uncle: which might otherwise appear impossible for a Mother, or common humanity. Therefore thus it was, that no man doubted but the Mother was the main and only instrument that wrought the banishment.

men

ment of her Son, and so it will be worth  
ains to know the particularities of a  
ning so extraordinary.

Upon the notice of Prince *Camillo's*  
esign, *Donna Olimpia* grew jealous lest  
ne considerableness of so great a  
match might create her Partners in the  
disposal of the Pope, at least limit her  
part if not in the whole. What gave  
er the greatest suspicion, was the  
nowledge she had of the Princess of  
*Rossano* her Daughter-in-law, reputed  
or a Lady of great wit and discretion,  
who spoke solidly always upon good  
grounds; which would no doubt in  
time have won upon the Pope. And  
that which the more aggravated her  
calousy, was that she very well knew  
the inclinations of the Pope to love the  
female Sex: so that she certainly con-  
cluded his Holiness would take more  
pleasure in having to do with a young  
Niece, than an old Sister-in-law. For  
his cause she used all her cunning to  
render the Nephew odious to the Un-  
cle,

cle, against the bonds of nature and consanguinity : that she might satisfy her Ambition of guiding the Popes will at her own discretion. Nor was it strange that the same Pope should put all his affairs into her hands, to whom he had long since resigned his heart: though she abused this power to such a degree that she brought the whole Court to her beck.

Besides, if we consider the endowments of Prince *Camillo*, we cannot but think the Pope had some reason on his side to forget his Relation. For at what time he made him Cardinal, he designed to fit him for the employment of a first Nephew, for the which he found a great incapacity in him; insomuch that the more his Uncle instructed him, the greater Duncie he grew, that scarce a day passed without a multitude of reproofs and chidings : the fear of which as he endeavoured to be more diligent, run him still into greater absurdities : so that the Pope could never see him without extream regret.

The Court wondred most at these two particulars, in the banishment of Prince *Camillo*. The first was to see a Pope so besotted with a Woman, as to banish his Nephew for having directed his love to a Princess of equal quality himself. Who could but admire to see a Pope given over to the excess of an aspiring Woman, who governed Church, State, Court, and Pope himself with a high hand: and at the same time become so cruel to his only Nephew for appropriating with the love of so noble a Lady, so considerable a patrimony to the house of *Panfilio*!

The second wonder was to see a Princess so much sought after by other great Princes, to place her affections on one that was noted for his simplicity and ill nature. Had it been for this reason alone, he was obliged to have commended the choice of his Nephew, and received them both into his favour. But for all this it is no strange thing to see a Princess condescend to

such

such a Match; when we consider the nature of the *Roman* Ladies, who had rather govern a City of Church-men, than a Kingdome of Cavaliers.

It may be wondred at, that the Pope in the beginning of his Reign, should seek to extinguish the house of *Panfilio* by taking his Nephew into the Church who was the only branch of the Family when we see for the most part, that former Popes, to establish their House and Name, have ruined the State, and set the world together by the Ears; and this on the contrary to the amazement of all men, to seek the ruine of his own House. But to do him right, the Pope was never of this mind: but resolved to marry him, as *Panziccolo* advised. *Dona Olimpia* was she (an incredible story of experience did not prove beyond control) that unmanned the Pope, and brought him to yield to the banishment of his Nephew: choosing rather to blot out the Name of *Panfilio*, than suffer the least diminution in that authority

end over the Pope, which she apprehended might be endangered by her sons Marriage.

Prince *Camillo* being gone from *Rome* with his Lady, *Donna Olimpia* ingrossed the whole Court affair, yet with no small regret at *Panzicolo's* so good credit with the Pope. However *Panzicolo* not interrupting her in her main design for heaping up riches, she would not discover that private malice she bore against him. She would have had the Pope discharge himself of all business, and leave it to his confidants, which she comprehended within her sole person. To this end she sought all means to divert him from that care he then took of Church and State.

For he was wont at the first to be very solicitous in enquiring into all the affairs of *Rome*, receiving the Petitions, and hearing the Complaints of those which were aggrieved, from their own mouths. But *Donna Olimpia* made him quit so good thoughts, by insinuating

*This seems very contradictory to what she else sometimes affirms, as*

ting that it would be better to kee himself in repose for the good of Christendome, than to haraſs himſelf out ſo with hazzard of his life. She conjured him to ſpeak but little, and when he was never ſo little indiſpoſed ſhe would ſeem very much afflicted and blame him as acceſſary to his own miſchief, by troubling himſelf with buſineſs more than needed. The good Pope, who believed ſhe did all this with a ſincere and ſingle heart, adored her; for want of ſenſe enough to perceive that this zeal proceeded not from the love ſhe bore him, but a meer trick to get the diſpoſal of all into her own hands.

She perſwaded him to moderate ſuch expences as ſhe thought ſuperfluous, by abating the Sallaries of divers Officers and making particular Laws, and reforming his own Table, and indeed all things, the whole charge drained the Popes purſe, which ſhe kept without ever giving an accompt to him.

The greediness of the *Barbarines* in  
 raping up Money, which was the  
 most excessive *Rome* had ever seen ; in  
 comparison of that of *Innocent* I  
 could say *Donna Olimpia* was a flea-  
 sting. No Judge Criminal, but was  
 made by her recommendation, to whom  
 she gave most barbarous instructions to  
 supply her avarice. She warned them to  
 look after the Purse, & not the Blood :  
 and would frequently write to them,  
 to send her the Redemptions of the  
 guilty, because she intended to lay  
 them out for the benefit of the Poor.  
 Upon which the covetousness of the  
 Judges, seeking for their share too, the  
 Extortion and Rigour was brought  
 to that height, as it was impossible to  
 raise it higher. And though the Pope  
 had certain information that those  
 Judges were excessive cruel, & robbed  
 without measure or distinction : yet  
 neither were the Oppressed relieved,  
 nor the Judges punished ; and that  
 through the pernicious impression

*Donna Olimpia* had made upon him

He said, that Divine Providence which disposed his Will, had appointed by his hands good Men, for the execution of Justice: Therefore to speak ill of his Ministers, were to charge Divine Providence, which had inspired him to that choice. Neither Words nor Examples which made out clear to him the contrary of that false Belief, and scandalous Opinion, he had entertained; could ever make him quit that wicked Fancy.

A certain *German Count*, a Protestant, having heard speak one day of this Belief of the Pope's concerning his Ministers, told his friend: *I see plainly it will one day be requisite to hold all the Popes Subjects for Infallible.*

But *Donna Olimpia* did all she could to hinder Complaints from coming to the Pope's ears, receiving them herself, after she had first received the Money of the Oppressours: Thus admitting of contrarieties at the same time.

All the discourse of *Rome*, was *Donna Olimpia's* insatiable thirst after Wealth: for every one admired that in the time of so many other Popes, who had many Nephews, that all robbed, that is, provided for themselves; there was not so much extortion seen, as in the time of *Innocent*; when all went into the Purse of *Donna Olimpia*. For she would not let her Son-in-law see a Farming, but considered them as if they had not been: of whom it will do well to give some account.

The House of *Panfilio* (except *Donna Olimpia*, who came out of the House of the *Maldachini*) consisted only of the Pope, his Sister, *Don Camillo* and his two Sisters. His Holiness his Sister much elder than himself, was called Sister *Agatha*; concerning whom there is not much to say: For she never came out of her cloister, but when the Pope sent for her; which he did to cheer up his heart to see her so lusty at an age more advanced than his own. This Lady, during

ring the time her Brother was Cardine  
held a very good correspondence with  
*Donna Olimpia* her Sister-in-law : but  
after he was Pope , she began to de  
her, and not without some reason : For  
she perceived her Brother had deba  
red her from soliciting any grace  
while he heaped them upon her Sister  
in-law. So that as most that lead M  
nastick lives , are naturally propense  
Envy, she entertained a greater Hatred  
for her Sister-in-law , that reaped the  
Benefit; than her Brother, who afford  
ed the Harvest. And truly for the space  
of ten years under the Reign of her  
Brother , she never could obtain a  
favour above the blessing of a Medal.  
This unkindness proceeded not directly  
from the Pope , though he was a person  
son not over free of his Favours : but  
from the prejudice *Donna Olimpia* had  
possessed him with ; making him be  
lieve , that if once he began to gratify  
his Sister ; the Nuns, who are naturally  
very importunate , would never leave  
pressing

essing her to beg Favours : by which means, neither he nor his Sister should ever be at rest. This charitable consideration, was all this while, the least of her thoughts: But she apprehended that after *Agatha* would receive all the Presents of those she procured Graces for; and therefore contrived it so, that nothing should be granted her, that she herself might make that profit.

Of *Don Camillo's* two Sisters, the first was married to *Don Andrea Justiniani*, a Prince that may be reckoned amongst Fortune's Disciples. This man was called to be Heir to the late Marquis *Justiniani* : who finding no Heir by descent, cast his eye upon this Creature, at that time a miserable poor Knight : Who though it was at a great distance, yet originally he came of the same Stock with the Marquis. Arrived therefore upon so considerable a pitch of Fortune, himself made it yet greater by marrying *Innocent's* Niece, who though he was then but Cardinal, became Pope

soon after, which conferred those privileges upon the Prince, as always attend Popes Nephews. However, his Relation made him not much richer. For except the usual Honours and Charges, that are conferred of course upon the Popes Nephews, which are not unprofitable; the Pope never intended farther, knowing that as he was a good manager of the Estate which was fallen to him, he would think himself very well, that he had made so good a Pass in his Knight Errantry. Besides, the Pope thought it unfit to commit any Charge of weight upon him; finding him a person, except that he was a good honest man, of very ordinary parts. The Princess his Lady was welcome enough to the Pope; but with the same restrictions, that nothing was to be got: For her Mother would seldom or never suffer her to come to the Pope's presence. Thus were Husband and Wife both deceived, even in ordinary Favours, which their

man

ands never exceeded, nor often prevailed.

*Don Camillo's* second Sister was married to Signior *Don Nicolò Ludovisio* Prince of *Piombino*, Nephew to *Gregory* the Fifteenth, and Brother to that Cardinal Patron who in the time of his Uncle disposed absolutely of all Church Affairs. This Prince thought to have had great matters by his Wife, receiving the greater part of her portion in large Appes, which Cardinal *Panzicolo* gave him, who made the Match. And truly there was some grounds to believe it : because it was in that nick of time that *Don Camillo* was made Cardinal. For he presumed, considering the weakness of his person, the real power of a Nephew would devolve to him ; and that being exercised in government, all business of State, publick and private, would fall to his share : which was the reason made him so hot upon this Match. But he found himself mightily deceived, his Mother-in-law (*Donna Olimpia*) not suf-

fering the disposal of a thing so considerable to pass through other hands than her own : so that the poor Prince was obliged to be fed like a Child with what she gave him.

Nor did the Prince get any thing but lamenting his sad condition, to be debarr'd the means to those favours which always attend so near Allies to a Pope. For *Donna Olimpia*, nettled at his discourse, gave him to understand, that he had received sufficient grace and honour since the Pope had layed all others aside to prefer him to the Marriage of his Niece. As much as to say, he had no reason to complain of the Match, that put him in a capacity of repairing the breaches made in the fortune of his Family. Upon this answer the Prince remained silent by the advice of his natural prudence ; dissembling all, and continuing his observance to her as Mother-in-law, and the Popes favourite.

However, this Prince omitted no

vent his passion among friends upon occasion, by saying, that his alliance with the Pope in stead of raising, had diminished him through the distrust it gave him with the *French*, who hereupon had made his State of *Piombino*, the object of their fury. So that not being able to revenge themselves upon the Pope, they would at least fall upon what belonged to his Relations. Thus by his alliance, he became a certain loser: Whereas the recompense he received was not considerable, being comprised only in the *Vice Admirals*hip of the Pope's Galleys, and some other slight matter, that was not comparable to his loss. The Command of the Galleys was bestowed upon him at the instance of *Donna Olimpia*: not out of any desire to advance him, but by what means to send him far enough from *Rome*: for the Pope was resolved to send the Admiral with his Galleys, to assist the *Venetians* in the *Levant-war*. The Prince was also displeased, that the  
Pope

Pope ever sent for him at vacant hours when there was no discourse admitted more than for Recreation : And though the Prince would begin sometimes to talk seriously of Business, he was still interrupted by his Holiness. In which the poor Prince perceived he was to be treated as Buffoone, and not Nephew to the Pope.

And now we come to *Donna Olimpia* who, for five years and upwards, exercised in a manner the whole power of Pope *Innocent*. This Lady, as I have told you elsewhere, governed the Pope for a long time before. As she was a woman of a great deal of wit and subtlety : she knew so well how to turn her business and order circumstances for the captivating his will, as foreseeing what might happen ; nor failed of her aim. Thus she not only disposed of him when he was Bishop, Cardinal, and Nuntio ; and of all he had without the least contradiction : but even after he was Pope, she understood

well how to keep her ground in the midst of so much greatness, by holding off all those which were not her creatures ; that it was no easie matter to move her in the least either by consideration of the great inconveniency every way to see the Supreme of the Church subjected to the licentious appetite of a most ambitious Woman; or the general dissatisfaction of the Court, which for want of a Cardinal Nephew, would be wholly excluded from all Affairs by this Lady. But alas! Who should govern the Chair sooner, than she, who was absolute Mistress both of it, and him that held it? A Lady, that might deservedly to be admired for a judicious and ready Wit, especially where any thing was to be got, or for any wickedness. And it is most certain, none but *Donna Olimpia* could have overcome all difficulties for the holding the Reins of Government but six Months, whereas she continued six Years together. And what was the  
more

more to be wondred at, excepting her exact rules of Economie; her endowments were like other persons. But she ordered this so cunningly, that it gained upon the Pope's affections to such degree, as made way for her to act without law or restraint.

She reduced the Datary to her absolute dispose: For whereas before the Master of the Datary was absolute to sell all Places at a certain Rate; he was now left a simple Executour of the Pope's Orders, and many times of *Donna Olimpia's* little Notes; though indeed, what the Pope commanded, proceeded from her directions. However the Cardinal that was Master of the Datary, being a wise man, took all in good part; though every one pitied him for so great a Slight as was put upon his person.

In fine, whatever Office at Court fell, nothing was disposed of, without the knowledge and good-liking of *Donna Olimpia*. If any Benefices were

be bestowed, great or small, the officers of the Datary were to keep them in hand, till she had fully inform'd her self of their value; and then she call'd out the best for her own disposal. Whatever Bishoprick fell void, they that pretended to it, were to address themselves to her; and he that offer'd most, without consideration, either of Capacity or Desert, was introduced. Abbeyes, Canonicates, and all other Dignities and Governments, whether Civil or Ecclesiastical, were all conferred at *Donna Olimpia's* pleasure and command: before whom, there was no appearing empty handed. Nay, you must bring the full value of the Place: For the rates were so set, that an Office of a thousand Crowns a year, that lasted but three years, he that had it, was to pay a Years Revenue to *Donna Olimpia*; six years, double, and so on proportionably: But if it were an Office for life, she would not be ashamed to ask the Moiety of the Revenue for the first twelve

twelve years. Some Bishopricks void, more than five years together (however, she received the profits them all that while,) only because she could not find a Chapman for the that would present her at so dear Rate. An Abbot of the Kingdom Naples, beggered his House, by coveting a Bishoprick, that was at Donna Olimpia's dispose: For he was given to understand, he must pay twenty thousand Crowns for it, if he would have it. The poor man, who could not make up such a sum in his whole Family, persuaded his Brothers to joyn in the selling all their Patrimony, and take upon Credit what they could, to make up the sum: Which being done, and the money paid, he was named to the Bishoprick, but died before he had been fully possessed. Thus was the whole Family ruined, and Donna Olimpia restored to the possession of the Benefice which she sold again to some other person.

*The more Lucre hee y<sup>t</sup> bought it, So  
as well as y<sup>t</sup> shee & Duell y<sup>t</sup> sold it,  
who made no Conscience of such Damnable*

Such was the exorbitance of this modern *Agrippina's* avarice, that she made her consent so necessary in promoting any body, as without it nothing could pass. Oftentimes she would make the Cardinals treat the same Business over again in their Congregations, which they had dispatched once before, and confirmed by a Definitive decree; nay more, in those very Congregations where the Pope himself had been present, and concurred in person. Through this great influence came it to pass, that all the Court Officers, either out of fear or hopes, made Court to her, not performing the least duty without her knowledge and advice. Cardinal *Panzicolo* himself, though much taken up with the business of his Place, besides his frequent indispositions; was nevertheless, to humour this Lady, obliged many times to go in person to find her out, and give her account of all the secret Affairs that occurred. Thus she from time to time

with a Majestick nod, Pope-like, a bundle of Memorials in her hand already resolved upon, would spend hours with his Holiness in ripening her Propositions; the which were often descanted upon, with bitterness enough sometimes. For the sharp Wits were as well piqued as astonished, to see the Court so close towards men of desert, and prodigal upon those that deserved nothing. There was no meddling with the faults of those that had the power in their hands, though all men were moved with indignation, to reflect, how with a look of this Lady, people were banished the Court, even those that were the sole hopes of the Family.

*Panfilio.* Every one was amazed to see the unnaturalness of the Pope, who was not sensible of the propitious inclination of Heaven towards his Family through his Nephew; who in the time of his exile had two Sons by the Princess (which by other Popes was always esteemed the greatest blessing)

it continued so little concerned at all  
is, that he never so much as thought  
calling him back.

And now it is fit you should know  
the reason, why the Pope was so har-  
med; as to regard his Nephews Off-  
spring so little. At what time *Donna*  
*Olimpia* had perswaded the Pope to  
make *Don Camillo* Cardinal, against his  
holiness own sense, that of his Rela-  
tions and *Panziccolo's*; she made use of  
his devilish pretence, that her Son  
was insufficient, and therefore it would  
be very ill to make any Lady so mise-  
rable by such a Match: besides that it  
must have been a great affliction to the  
man, when he found himself incapable  
of having Children. Upon this,  
when she understood the Princess was  
with Child, and afterwards brought to  
bed of a lusty Boy, she took up\*  
more wicked and hellish courses than  
formerly. She put it into the Pope's  
head (I tremble to think of so horrid  
an action) to suspect the honour of the  
Princess

Princess of *Rossano* her Daughter law, and made him believe the Children were indeed hers but not her husbands, who was utterly uncaptive of generation.

The Pope soon believed it, as coming from *Donna Olimpia's* mouth, whom he had sworn entire submission. For between these two there passed nothing more than command and obedience: she said the word, and he obeyed. Insomuch, that some said he had laid a charm upon him. And truly I am apt to believe it: how else (leaving aside all other considerations) was it possible that such a red-faced, cloisterish fellow should prove so completely in love to a Lady, especially to the Pope without some Diabolical Enchantment?

The Histories of former ages cannot produce the like, I do not say of the Pope, for in that it is particular, but of any other Prince or Monarch. I come of an Ab-

...promising, though never so much  
...such perfect the best  
...the best of the best

who hath delivered himself over to  
some Woman : but it was in the affe-  
ctions of his Soul, and not his Scepter.  
He admitted her into his bed, she  
entred not into his Councils : if in pri-  
vate he adored her, he took no notice  
of her in publick : if he made a present  
of his person to her, he did not so of  
his Kingdome : if he permitted her to  
rule himself, yet not his people : and  
he did go so far as to allow her some  
authority in publick, some power in his  
throne, it was undoubtedly with so  
much caution at least, that she should  
not be able to transgress the bounds of  
the respect to the regal Majesty. But  
on the other side, presented  
*Donna Olimpia*, not only with his heart  
and affections, but with his hand, person,  
and dominion; without restraint, limit or  
respect : and it is most assuredly true,  
that never any King gave so much  
power to his Wife, nor any Queen  
regent commanded her Councils with  
much authority, as *Donna Olimpia*

had usurped unto herself both over  
 Pope, Councel, and People.

Such was the imperiousness of the  
 Lady, that she endeavoured to null the  
 Decrees of the Church, and did  
 effect so shake them, reducing what  
 former Popes had ordained to the  
 degree, that all men apprehended  
 Schism in the Church. And truly one  
 would think it were Schism enough  
 to see a Lady and the Pope change place.  
 A thousand examples might be brought  
 of the unheard-of power of *Donna  
 Olimpia*: but that they are such as would  
 more offend the ears than satisfy the  
 curiosity of any man. I will therefore  
 conclude all in one, both for brevity  
 and civilities sake.

*Donna Olimpia* had a Nephew (who  
 is yet alive) one of her Brothers Sons  
 about eighteen years of age, of a  
 sleepish look, no presence or aspect of  
 man, wholly unexperienced in the  
 world, a great Dunce incapable of  
 impression, not able to entertain dis-  
 course

urfe, ill made and worse spoken,  
dicted only to such recreations as fute  
th mean and low Spirits. This crea-  
re with much adoe was once brought  
fore the Pope, who turning to *Donna*  
*impia* that had introduced him, said,  
*beseech you Sister let him come no nearer,*  
*he is ten times uglier than my self.* For

this, through the importunity of  
e Aunt, he made him Cardinal at  
ghteen years old, not only to the  
onder of the Court, but all Christen-  
ome. And this is Cardinal *Maldachini*,  
ho in his visits that he either gives or  
ceives always makes use of a set form  
f Complements, which he hath got by  
heart; and if you put him out of his  
ad, he never fails to talk non-sense.  
ust about the same time at *Rome* the  
atue of *Marforio* was hid by a Palace  
at was built about it : upon which  
ere were a thousand Pasquils made ;  
mong which I remember one was ,

*Take it not so to heart Pasquino,*  
*Your Companion is Maldachino.*

And truly this Cardinal is and will be the Carneval or Jack-pudding of the Apostolick Colledge, the Church scandal and the reproach of the Court. The instructions that *Donna Olimpia* his Aunt gave him, that he should keep Learned men in his Family, was of small use to him, who had not wit enough to make any benefit by their conversation. Nor wanted this Lady cruelty: for this was the cause of *Mascambruno's* execution, and of divers others, out of whom when she had drawn what money they could in their life-time, she hoped for more by their Death. Nay she took away the Datary from *Cardinal Cerchini*, and used *Palotta* so ill, that he would often say, he had rather be in a Cloister liable to the impertinence of a Monk, than in *Rome* under the Tyranny of *Donna Olimpia*.

So did this Lady govern the Court, that *Panziccolo* made it his business to treat the Pope to make him understand the complaints of all the Embassadors

and the Court without some Minister to convey their addresses to his Holiness; being concerned that they must still be forced upon all occasions to treat immediately with the Pope, who would never give them a good nay, for a bad yea; that is, an answer to any purpose. At last, weary, as I suppose, of the continual importunities of his Sister-in-law, and the taking upon him all audiences, not having allowed himself hitherto that assistance his Predecessors always thought requisite, he hearkened to advice.

The place the Title of Cardinal-Protector carries along with it (which is never conferred but upon a Nephew) is very considerable, and of equal weight of honour and business. When the Pope is indisposed, or hath a mind to be private, he receives the Embassadors; with whom he hath power to treat, but to resolve nothing; though indeed *Gregory* the Fifteenth referred all to his Nephew. Besides he subscribes  
the

the Letters of the *Nuntii Legats*, Governours of Provinces, Presides in the Council of State; and in short, all that ought to come before the Pope passed thorough his hands. As yet this he was wanting to *Innocent*, who through his languishing condition had great need of it, as being very troublesome to the Embassadors that had to do with him.

Therefore, to ease himself of business he held conference with *Panzicola*, which likewise set his Nephews all to work. Many were proposed and thwarted by *Donna Olimpia* to preserve her own interest, though she ever seemed willing, and at last through the urgency of affairs was so upon condition it were one wholly at her beck. Cardinal *Albergati* was first thought of who calls himself by the Title of Cardinal *Ludovisio*. This the Prince *Ludovisio* pushed earnestly forwards, being desirous, since he had none himself, to have one so near of blood with

in publick employment : But his  
brothers ignorance and simplicity in  
private affairs much more in publick,  
procured him the Negative. Next  
was brought up Father *Fabio Albergati*,  
the Cardinals Brother, a Jesuit : but  
the Pope declared he would not ag-  
grandize one house with the advance-  
ment of three Brothers. At last, after  
long debate, to the wonder of all men,  
and the great dis-satisfaction of the  
Popes kindred, was declared an adopt-  
ed Nephew of another house, who with  
his Cardinalship had the name of *Pan-*  
*filio* conferred upon him, and the title of  
Cardinal-Patron. But it will not be  
amiss to give you the whole story of it,  
it being an Election that did highly  
exasperate *Donna Olimpia*, who inveigh-  
ed most furiously against the promoter  
of this business.

This new Cardinal may be reckoned  
amongst the most unexpected prodigies  
of fortune for these many Ages. For  
without any relation of blood to the  
Pope,

Pope, without merit, nay void of all endowments that should render a man estimable in the Court of *Rome*, nor having the least familiarity with the Pope, only known to him by sight; yet for all this (not the least suspecting it) advanced to be Cardinal Nephew as if he had been of the blood of the *Panfilii*. He had no other qualification for so eminent a place, but the extraction from a truly noble Family, which notwithstanding was so deeply engaged in debts that it sunk every day. His name was *Camillo Astalli*, of twenty seven years of age, of a gentle countenance and address, and good qualities enough to advance him to a Bishoprick, but not farther. That which added to the Court wonder, was to see one raised to so important a preferment for the assistance of the Pope in the most weighty matters of State and Politick affairs; who was to seek in all sorts of Politicks for want of practice in the businesses of that nature, which never

me in his way till now. The introduction that he had by means of his charge at *Rome*, came through the affinity the Marquis's his Brother had contracted by marrying the Niece of *Donna Olimpia*; who made it her business to look after honour and preferment for the advance of a strange Family now by marriage become her own, as esteeming herself not in so splendid a condition as was fit for a Pope's Kinswoman. And that encouraged her the more to be solicitous, was the consideration of the tender portion she went off with, counting the rest upon the expectations so near an affinity with the Pope must needs promise: though indeed it had proved a bait that had gulled many, and made them reckon without their Host. However the House of *Astalli* had great good luck to ally themselves with *Donna Olimpia*. For howbeit they wanted not for Nobility, yet had they no Estate to maintain it; besides that the greatest share of what remained was by

by the connivance of *Donna Olimpia* layed out upon a Clerk of the Chambers place, upon which the whole Family of *Astalli* relyed; nor had she had that to trust to without her advice. And indeed it succeeded well with him, who had by that means a free access to the Court, together with the relation his Brother had contracted with *Donna Olimpia*, besides that the place was very Honorable. He applied himself to court Cardinal *Panzicolo* in the highest manner, and he did wisely in it: for he plainly saw next to *Donna Olimpia*, he had the greatest power with the Pope. Fortune would have it that he found an equal return of kindness from the Cardinal, who gave himself up captive to certain modest and obsequious behaviours that appeared in this youth: however against the Cardinal's usual manner, who would never undertake to favour any body before the Pope; not out of any humane nature, but because he found the Pope willing

filling all favours should proceed from *Donna Olimpia*. Nevertheless here it all out otherwise : for *Panzicolo* had possessed the Pope so far with a good opinion of *Astalli*, representing of him as a man fit for great employment ; that he induced the Pope to be taken with the marriage of the young man. Afterwards when they came to consult how the Pope might be eased in the weight of business, there not being one of his hundred found fit for so great an undertaking, and he having through *Donna Olimpia's* perswasion an utter aversion to them ; *Panzicolo* was hearkened to, who had preferred his favourite before other considerations.

This action was remarked by the Court of *Rome* for one of the most extraordinary that had appeared upon the Stage of *Rome* a long time.

However they knew the Pope could not do otherwise : For though it was his power to ease himself, by appointing Ministers, to whom he might give what

what authority he pleased, without placing a person not qualified for it in eminent a degree, which must oblige him to provide all necessaries for his Nephew, *Astalli* being wholly unfurnished; yet here lay the difficulty, whereas the main design of the Pope in this, was to remit the Audiences and negotiations of Embassadors to him, and the discussion of all Intrigues; and the Embassadors never used to treat with any under the title of Nephew, it was found requisite to advance *Astalli* to Cardinalship. But before they would accept of Audience from him, the Embassadors would have it published through *Rome*: which was done, and the Pope declared him his Nephew, giving him the adoptive name of Cardinal *Panfilio*, and the title of Cardinal Patron. By which declaration, all difficulties being removed, the Embassadors disposed themselves to treat with the new Nephew, though not without distaste.

Many applyed themselves to a strict examination of this Affair : and what made them the more curious , was a strong fancy , that it wholly proceeded from Cardinal *Panzicolo*. They considered therefore what motives carried him on, to bring such a person upon the stage, who must of necessity eclipse him and all his deliberations, by the conspicuous degree he held above him. At last they discovered it to be a piece of great Cunning, and like the Product of *Panzicolo*. His main design was to weaken the insolent authority of *Donna Olimpia*; which he thought impossible to work any other way , than by introducing a Nephew to the Pope's liking : and thus finding the Pope inclined to take that course , he made it his business to effect it. He knew moreover , that not only the power of *Donna Olimpia* would be diminished by this , but his own augmented , as well assuring himself, the young man unexperienced in the Politicks , that he might not appear wholly

wholly ignorant before the Pope, would undertake nothing without his advice and thus should he have the absolute dispose of Court Affairs, at least for some time. They will likewise have that *Panzicolo* had another design deeper than all this; that is, by this means when the Pope dyed, as he was one that flew at all, he imagined to compass his ends more readily: For he looked upon it as a very fair occasion, by having raised this young man to so high a preferment; who would no doubt be mindful of the good turn, that in gratitude to him, he would seek all means of return by assisting him in the Election to Saint *Peter's* Chair, being pretty confident already of the *Barbarines* and the *Spaniards*.

But he gained not more (less perhaps) upon the young man's affections, than he did upon the hatred of the Pope's Kindred and Relations: For hardly was it known (being so secretly carryed, that *Donna Olimpia* never mistrusted

trusted the least till it was done ) but  
 jealousies multiplied immediately, and  
 bitterness against both promoter and  
 promoted, that so eminent a Favour  
 should be conferred upon a strange Fa-  
 mily. The affections of the Pope were  
 so sooner won towards this adoptive  
 Nephew, but they took deep root pre-  
 sently; so that he did all for the making  
 him considerably great to his Place,  
 which tended very much to the lessen-  
 ing the House of *Panfilio*. Hence pro-  
 ceeded fierce exasperations against *Pan-*  
*nicolo* as the chief Engine of this mis-  
 chief. Principally *Donna Olimpia*, who  
 used to have account of all the State  
 mysteries at Court, and now seeing her  
 self clearly wiped of that interest, was  
 verely netled, thundring out nothing  
 but fury and disdain against *Panxicolo*;  
 taxing him for a Villain and a Traytor;  
 not forbearing her invectives (through  
 the confidence she had with him) in the  
 Pope's own presence.

*Innocent* however employed this  
 G Nephew,

*It is  
 very  
 likely  
 that  
 the  
 same  
 Olimpia  
 did  
 always  
 reign  
 with  
 the  
 King  
 &c.*

Nephew, committing to his charge, the Affairs of his own House, and the administration of the additional Fortune to the Primogeniture of the House of *Panfilio*, as knowing him fit for such business. And this helped to make the Blood of Prince *Camillo* boil higher, who was the true Nephew of the Pope, being upbraided thereby, as one that understood not how to manage his own Affairs, sometimes with suspicion of his honesty.

This Cardinal Patron gave Audience to the Embassadors and Ministers of Princes, with great patience and civility, as likewise to Courtiers and other particular men, who not having easie access to the Pope themselves, had their recourse to him to mediate for them. Nevertheless, this was but a seeming satisfaction in the general. For to particular business of importance he never gave other answer, than that he would relate it to his Holiness, nor upon the relation, made any other report.

report, than that the business would be taken into consideration; which in the language of the Court of *Rome*, is as much as to say, there would little or nothing be done in it. *The same Language is used in other Courts*

The Pope communicated all State Affairs to this Cardinal, not in order to lay the weight of them upon him, but to train him up to Business. For he would not confide too much in so raw States-man, lest he should fail him. So that he had no more of Cardinal-Patron than the Title, and Honour (which was yet of no small consequence) to subscribe the Letters of the Nuntii, Legats, Governours of Provinces, and other of the most considerable Officers under the Ecclesiastical State. For all matters and dispatches of Letters, they were drawn up by a young man, who was bred Secretary under *Pan-colo*, and by him brought into this Office, as well deserving it for his aptness business.

To comfort a little the checked ambition

bition of *Donna Olimpia*, and to assuage her wrath, the Pope would have the Cardinal visit the said Lady sometime and impart to her such Affairs as he thought best. But he for the most part told her all, as being of little value to him; since neither he nor she were to determine them. The Pope's Relations durst not seem dissatisfied with the Cardinal-Patron's advance; lest they should be thought to question his judgment who had made so free a Choice: besides that the Cardinal always shewed himself unwilling to oppose himself to, or promote any thing that might give offence like to the Relations of his chief Benefactor: For all that, the jealousy of the one, and inveteracy of the other burnt inwardly like hot embers.

The advice of this new Nephew was hardly dispersed over Christendom; before there appeared upon the Stage a Scene, which many did expect would follow the Declaration of a Cardinal Patron.

The Pope was resolved to dismiss

Don

Donna Olimpia the Court, but with  
 good words, as unwilling to disoblige  
 her Ladiship, who was the Idol of his  
 heart. Nay, they say, he did it with  
 tears in his eyes, and the greatest regret  
 imaginable; but yet he did it. *Dr. T. will*  
 He gave order therefore that D. C- *be did*  
 Olimpia should not only withdraw her self *it at*  
 from all his Affairs, Publick or Private, *last, I*  
 temporal or Spiritual: but for the future *what*  
 should not presume to come into his *regret*  
 presence, or under the roof of his Pa-  
 lace. Which Injunction was something  
 mitigated the next day, permission be-  
 ing given (such is the force of Love)  
 to come *Incognita* and confer with him,  
 which was denyed to those of his own  
 blood. This accident, as it was thought  
 impracticable, upon consideration of old  
 scores: so after it came to pass, forced  
 applause, even from those that hated  
 who were concerned in it.

The Reason that moved the Pope to  
 take up such a Resolution was diversly  
 judged. Some would have it that the

little Rallies that run daily about the Court, in every corner still playing upon the strange course of Government was taken: which Rumours were either concealed from, or at least dissembled by the Pope hitherto; not being resolved what course was best to take to stop the mouths, not only of the Court but of all Christendom; and particularly of the Protestants in the Northern parts, who made it the greatest part of their divertisement, to jest upon *Donna Olimpia* and the Pope: so that they did not only take the liberty of treating both the one and the other with sharp and biting discourse: but a disdainful meen evidenced how firmly they believed what they said.

One day amongst the rest was presented to the Pope a Gold Medal, about ten Pistols value, by the Cardinal Patron: who told him he had received in a Letter some Satyrs without a Name and so shewed them to him. Upon the one side of this Medal was *Donna Olimpia*

An  
hand some  
way of  
being  
plaine.

*Olimpia*

*Donna Olimpia*, with the Pope's Mitre upon her head, and S. Peter's Keys in her hand; on the reverse, the Pope, with his head dressed up like a Lady, and a spindle and Rock in his hand: a thing that provoked much to the ruin of *Donna Olimpia*. It is very certain, the Cardinal ought not to have discovered this, for fear of discomposing his Holiness: but he would shew it to help to the destruction of *Donna Olimpia*, who stood in competition with him. Thus under colour of doing his Duty, played his own game.

It was said the Pope resolved to banish his Sister-in-law from the Court, upon advice of a certain Comedy that was represented in *London* before *Cromwell*, called *The Marriage of the Pope*; in which amongst other things was brought in, for sport to the *English*, and reproach to the Papists, that the Pope desiring to marry *Donna Olimpia*, and she refusing him, saying, she would not have such a Beastly ugly fellow for her

Husband; to win her, offered her a Key, which she refused as to mean a Present; upon which being resolved to have her, he offered both Keys. But you must know first, that when he presented her with one, *Donna Olimpia* asked him whether it was the Key of Hell or Paradise, to which the Pope answering, it was that of Paradise; she replied, then give me the other too, for you shall not think to have it in your hands when you are weary of me, I command the Devil to take me away. Thus when he had presented her with both Keys, the Wedding was kept and concluded with a Ball of Monks and Nuns, who took great satisfaction to think that it might come to their turn one day to be married likewise.

It was thought by many, that what helped to widen this breach, was a close discourse the Emperour had with the Nuntio *Melzi*, that was at *Vienna*, who was condoling with this Prelate the fatal stroke he had received from *Rome*.

by the conclusion of Peace with the  
Swedes, without regard had to the  
Catholick Religion; in defense of  
which, they ought always to have stood  
upon their Guard. In so much, that  
the Emperour could not refrain a sharp  
resentment of it to the Nuntio, telling  
him, *The Pope hath a brave time of it,*  
*Signor Nuntio, for Donna Olimpia to*  
*aw his Pate to make him sleep:* and so  
did no more. *Melzi* after this being  
come back to *Rome*, and urged by  
the Pope to relate clearly what the  
Emperour had said upon the receipt of  
his Letter about the accompt of the  
Peace with *Sweden*, failed not to re-  
peat it word for word. This a little  
shaken the Pope, and made him re-  
flect, that if he had such checks from  
Catholick Princes, such as is the *Au-*  
*strian Family in Germany:* surely he  
must expect much more severe from  
those that detested his Usurpation.  
All these things were enough not  
only to shake, but utterly to have ruined

*Donna*

*Donna Olimpia.* And no doubt they made deep impression in the Pope, however that some will not have it so, but that it was all a Fable of the Cardinals presenting him with the Medal. But be it so, it is most assuredly true, that not one but many, both of Gold and Silver were dispersed about *Rome*: and probably, he that found a way to coyn them, was ingenious enough to find a way also to convert them to the Pope. Others will have it, that it was as little true, that such a Play was acted before *Cromwel*, as we spoke of above. We will grant therefore, that it was a meer Invention of the people of *Rome*, and by consequence much worse: for it must needs be a greater mortification to see his own Subjects take the part of Heretics against him. Neither could he remain ignorant of ought, since those that breathed out nothing but destruction to *Donna Olimpia*, would leave no stone unturned to make known

to the Pope any thing of this nature. The general opinion is, that *Panzicolo* was the contriver and instrument of this all. For as he stood always at the Pope's elbow, to wait an occasion of overthrowing that great confidence and power *Donna Olimpia* had : this was offered him, that at that very time he was taxed by the same Lady for a Traytor, one that had undermined the whole house of *Panfilio*, by preferring to the Pope's favour one that was a stranger to them. *Panzicolo* therefore sets fall these expressions : That he was much concerned for the misfortune of the great Princes, that they should be the last in resenting the wrong was done them, and the affronts put upon that majesty they held, putting all up with that patience as seemed monstrous to the world. Thus with a dryness which was natural to him, aggravating the circumstances, he pursued the series of his discourse, and pressed it so home to the Pope, that (being in that distraction,

ction, and reflecting upon the out-cry and noise the whole world made, together with the insufferable importunity of this Lady ; for her too great presumption beyond the bounds of common modesty ) he forbad her his Presence and the Court.

There are those that are verily persuaded , what contributed much to the disgrace of *Donna Olimpia* , was the discourse of a Royal Embassadour, who endeavoured slyly to subvert this Lady not out of any private grudge, but that he was displeased as a *Roman Catholic* , to hear so many discourses, to the great scandal of the Church. Talking therefore one day with the Pope , and being denied his Request , he made it bold to tell him , *Perchance what your Holiness will not do for my King , I will do it for your Donna Olimpia , whom I now go to make my Address* . This he spoke betwixt Jest and Earnest but so , that it cut the Pope to the very heart. However, he seemed not to take notice

notice of any thing, but replied in general terms: That not the whole world, much less *Donna Olimpia*, should remove him from a just Resolution. The Ambassadour gone: he strook his hand upon the Table, and was heard to say; *The Devil take all Women, and those that prefer them thus.* An evident token of the Popes displeasure, that his Authority should be made so ridiculous through means of this Lady. And it is most certain, the Papal Authority was never so little respected, as it was in the time of *Innocent*. The Catholick Princes would often make sport at this new mode of Female Government, because they saw the Protestant Princes laugh at it. Nay, these would at times bewail the miserable condition of the *Romish* Church, because they saw the Catholicks themselves do so. Who indeed could forbear tears, to see that there was no more sending of Ambassadours to the Pope, but to *Donna Olimpia*; no more to the Court, but to a Ladies palace!

One Prince among the rest, of the most considerable in *Europe*, sent an Extraordinary Embassadour to *Rome* to whom, after having given him his necessary Instructions, he gave in charge at his last farewell, *If by the application of your Authority, you can make no impression upon the Pope, endeavour to gain him by bribing Donna Olimpia to use her power.* And it was a reasonable advice; for he knew by one of the greatest Confidants of the Embassadours retinue, that the Business had not been obtained without great expence.

Cardinal *Astalli*, after the death of *Innocent*, hath said in some companies that nothing was said of *Donna Olimpia* in any part of *Europe*, that the Pope knew not of, seeming ever to take little notice, and to slight all, as only the effect of malice. Thus he bore it out before others, though he himself was pricked, as it was evidently seen by the alteration of his countenance. But upon advice of a Sermon preached at

*Geneva*

Geneva, wherein *Donna Olimpia* was mentioned : he was so highly disturbed, that he ate nothing for two days together, but fretted and vented his choler upon whomsoever was with him. Now he was informed of this Story thus.

The Pope's Nuntio's Secretary that was at *Paris*, by order of his Master returned to *Rome*, to confer with his Holiness about some Affair, that could not well be committed to a Letter. Soon as he had delivered his Errand, and would have taken his leave for the next time : the Pope began to enquire of him concerning his Voyage, and by that way he came from *Paris* to *Rome*; upon which the Secretary answered, that he passed *Incognito* through *Geneva*; and what says that rebellious Citizen of Us? reply's the Pope. The Secretary told him, You can expect no goodness, most holy Father, from your enemies. Well but, says the Pope, what say they? Then the Secretary thinking

thinking himself obliged to tell the  
 truth, and not to lye in the Pope's pre-  
 sence, or whether he had some other  
 Reason for it; thus told him: *Most*  
*ly Father, I stayed but one day in the*  
*City, where I observed a greater Civil*  
*in the People, than I imagined to be*  
*found. But the more satisfaction I*  
*ceived from without; the greater*  
*my inward mortification: for, having*  
*the curiosity to observe the religious Ri*  
*of these People, so much contrary to the*  
*of Rome: I got my Host to carry me*  
*their Church, just at Sermon time.*  
 Host told me afterwards the second Pre-  
 cher was a Lucchese, of the noble Fam-  
 ily of the Diodati, and was indeed a great  
 orator. This person, whether he knew  
 anything of my coming; or that he did it  
 in order to the discourse he had formerly pro-  
 posed to himself, took for his Text the  
 words of Saint Paul written to Timothy  
 Suffer not a Woman to Teach, neither  
 to rule over the Man. Upon which  
 he enlarged, to the great reproach of  
 much less in Geneva.

Church of Rome, that suffered it self to  
governed by a Woman. This was one  
the most fatal strokes. I cannot tell  
whether the thing was really so, or that  
the Secretary invented it; let it suffice  
that Cardinal *Astalli* confesseth, this  
information took so strongly with the  
Pope, that he verily believes he  
took up his Resolution at this instant  
to banish *Donna Olimpia* from the  
Court.

Nevertheless, he that will consider a  
little closer the Reason of this disgrace,  
will find that the Pope did not this out  
of dislike or hatred to this Lady, but  
rather out of extreme kindness, that is,  
to take off the revilings of so many as  
set themselves against her, and to ap-  
pease the murmurings; and too besides,  
out of some politick consideration, that  
he might be taken for a zealous Pope.  
But it was impossible all the world  
should be able to perswade that a Ves-  
sel of sowre Vineager was become Mos-  
del; and truly it is hard to take a

H

false

false Work out of a peece of Cloth without spoyling the whole.

That the Pope was not distasted, no difficult matter to believe: For the Evening before he came to this Resolue he sent to call *Donna Olimpia*, with whom he held conference four or five hours in private: and it is very thought the Pope advised her to take the disgrace of banishment for a little while from the Court patiently, till such time as the malicious mouth should be stopped; and then he promised to call her back again, as indeed he did. Thus the Pope did, Mothers that threaten their Children all the while they hold them in their arms. He commands *Donna Olimpia* with a loud Voice, that upon any pretence whatever, she appear not before him: but afterwards tells her in her Ear, she may come privately; he discards her and calls her at the same time, and forbids her to be seen in publick, that he may have her more to himself.

But the good Man's Plot would not  
 ke : For in stead of stopping the  
 ouths of the malicious , it made them  
 n times worse : and the retirement of  
*Donna Olimpia* to her Palace, and with-  
 awing from publick view, made them  
 port about *Rome* , that the Pope was  
 come Jealous in his old age : and this  
 mior took the more easily , because  
 the more private conveyance of  
 the matter , she went to him for the  
 st part by Night.

Now behold all the Pope's Indigna-  
 n against *Donna Olimpia* , and all the  
 grace she underwent , during her  
 other-in-law's Reign : which was to  
 him by Night and not by Day , pro-  
 e Favours in private , and not in  
 ublick , and to go to the *Vatican* for  
 own Interest , and not for that of  
 ers.

And the truth is, this Lady reflecting  
 on what was past , and what would  
 most for her Credit , did for some  
 s forbear to appear publickly : but

all this while bated not an Ace of satisfaction. For though in appearance she seemed a little to be eclipsed: made she all good in secret, having Audience of his Holiness *incognita*, as I told you before.

In this very nick of time that Pope appeared to cool in his affection towards *Donna Olimpia*, he began to grow kind towards his own Family and Blood. Who, after three years banishment, at the Instigation and Directions of the Sister-in-law, were by Prince *Camillo* and his Lady (to take off the blemish of Unnatural) called to Favour again, upon condition they would expect no great matter of kindness from their Uncle, who was disposed to oblige no body but *Donna Olimpia*.

There was no body in *Rome* that did not come to welcome them home, and that not so much for the Prince, as the Princess her sake, who deserved to be pityed for many Reasons, having received

received the highest Injuries, and with gross Affronts to her person, not only from the Pope and her hair-ain'd Mother-in-law, but even from her own Husband; that after Honey-moon was over, he seemed to cool in his affections, though to so fair and noble an Object. However, being returned into Favour and good Reception with the Pope, though they lived not very happily together, yet the Princess married it so prudently, as to wink at all faults. But hardly was *Innocent* dead, when all broke out to the prejudice of them both, as giving occasion to the World to put diverse Interpretations upon the Rupture.

The little understanding between this unhappy couple fortified the Opinion of *Donna Olimpia*. Who, when told of the Match, declared not only to the Pope, but to every body, that her son had no inclination at all to marry, but that the Princess by little tricks and elusions had inveigled him to quit his

Cardinals Cap, and marry her, in hope of wearing the Breeches. And this, upon the discovery of their difference, got credit every where.

Mean while Cardinal *Astalli*, I should say, Cardinal *Panfilio* enjoyed so absolutely all the Prerogatives, the other Nephews should have had by right of Blood; that the Pope seemed to be kinder to him every day than other Cardinals. Notwithstanding there was no excess in Favours, as not being in his nature. Indeed the Cardinal by *Panziccolo's* instructions never asked any thing, that he was not most sure beforehand would please the Pope. So that many times (this the Cardinal says now) the Pope himself would complain of him, that he was so modest in requesting of Favours, that he asked not those which of absolute necessity were to be allowed him.

The true Relations of the Pope at this while could take no satisfaction to see one of a strange House so highly

the Pope's favour and they ; who  
ould be so near kept at such a distance.  
he very sight of this Cardinal did  
fflict them to that degree ; as by their  
ood wills, they would never come  
his company, at least would ne-  
er seek it. For in despite of them  
ey were forced to see him, and I  
ay say, be beholding to him upon se-  
eral occasions. Yet they bore not so  
reat a malice to this adopted Nephew,  
to *Panzicolo* : whose destruction they  
otted Night and Day : imagining  
erchance by his Fall they should lay  
e way to open to the overthrow of  
s Creature.

They met perpetually at *Donna  
Olimpia's* House in Consultation, how  
bring down *Panzicolo*. They spent  
hole Nights many times in quest of  
is point, each Relation employing  
s best Rhetorick, and endeavouring  
devise Cabals, and to lay all Designs  
the ruine of this Person : but every  
ing fell out to their dissatisfaction,

as not being able to find out a means to execute their Propositions. They were vexed to the heart, to see all their Designs vanish into a wish, insomuch that some took their Bed upon it for very madness. To lessen him in the Pope's opinion, was not difficult, but impossible: for his Credit with him had taken too deep root. In fine, they were never able to hurt such a man, that always walked with his eyes open, and upon even ground. *Panzicolo* had Wits enough to keep well with the Pope, though his frequent Indispositions made him scarce able to keep upon his Feet. The continual Conferences he was used to hold with the Pope till Mid-night had so much broke him, that one would have thought him unfit for any undertaking: and yet he held up so well against the Injuries of Time and Wiles of his Adversaries, that he made them despair so much as of thinking to attempt the least.

But what the malice of the Pope's Kindred

hundred could not effect, Death's dart performed: *Panzicolo* dies by the course of nature, while others are endeavouring to make him die in the Pope's Favour. This pleased *Donna Olimpia* so highly, that the very same day she marched about *Rome* in triumph. To the first that brought her the News, she answered, *He is dead and I live*. The Pope took his Death very much to heart, and had the Embassadors come to condole him, not being able to overcome his grief for many days. But above all, the Cardinal-Patron lamented his loss, his eyes gushing out with tears, so ominous to that mischief afterwards befell him.

The day after the Death of this Cardinal, the Pope's Relations had another Consultation among themselves in *Donna Olimpia's* House, in which they thought good in no way to attempt the lessening of the Cardinal-Patron his authority, or rather his Person; but first to work the Pope out of all good conceit

ceit of the memory of *Panzicolo* : For they could not expect, while the Pope retained any good opinion of him, that he should ever be perswaded to entertain an ill thought of his Creature.

They all therefore set themselves to this Work. Particularly *Donna Olimpia* as most concerned, left no stone unturned. At last they had their will and though in his life time they were never able to put him out of Favour nevertheless, after his Death they prevailed to make him be forgot of the Pope, who layed aside all favourable thoughts he had of him during his life.

An evident token of this, are the Complaints which have been heard from the Pope's own mouth, against the Conduct of *Panzicolo* : slighting all Businesses that were left by the said Cardinal, nay even to a bitter refusal of what ever favoured of his memory. Likewise in any Business of small importance (which shewed the nature of the Beast)

that

that *Panzicolo* had left in his Will to  
desire to be passed, he would protest  
against it. Many times treating with  
Embassadours and others, he would  
say he was cheated by *Panzicolo*. This  
discovered the unstable nature of the  
Pope, who never could keep to one  
Resolution: but did things not as they  
ought to be, but upon perswasion.

After the Death of *Panzicolo*, *Donna  
Olimpia* frequented the Court a little  
more, but *incognita*: beginning by de-  
grees to repossess her self of her first  
station, and truly she made large steps.  
The other Relations, that is, Prince  
*Panfilio*, Prince *Ludovisio*, and Prince  
*Justiniani*, were pretty well in Favour,  
being kindly received so far as cost no-  
thing. The Princesses of *Rossano* thought  
strange that her Husband was not  
treated in a more particular man-  
ner than the rest of the Nephews;  
being the only person among them,  
that was of the Blood of the *Panfilii*:  
though in truth he had no reason to  
complain

complain much of this ; since how partially soever he carryed himself among his Nephews, it was but in appearance. For he took order , and would have so ; that in the unclosing of his Fift , he used to call it , all the most considerable benefits should go to Prince *Camillo* : and this he made his whole Business , and employed the Cardinal-Patron in it too ; thus did he give the Substance to one, and to the rest the Shadow. One day as he was busie in signing I know not what advantage , he was demanded by the Cardinal-Patron whether he would have it given to Prince *Panfilio*, or Prince *Ludovisio* ; to which the Pope answered, *Know you not that near is my Doublet , but nearer is my Shirt ?* Another time being asked by the same person , which of the three Nephews he had the greatest kindness for : he replied without demer, We love Prince *Justiniani* for his Wifes sake , Prince *Ludovisio* because he is a good Prince , and Prince *Panfilio*

*filio* because he is of our Blood.

He gave *Donna Olimpia* to understand several times, but not without a promise to restore her to all her former power, that it was his absolute Will, that she should leave all, or the greatest part of her Acquisitions to her Son. And he had reason: for he well knew the Ladies inclinations were more to her Daughters. Therefore the Pope admired she should think of bestowing her Estate out of the House of *Panfilio*, which was comprised in that one person, who was his Nephew and her Son: nay, he could hardly believe it possible, she should contribute sooner to a half Family, than that which succeeded her in a direct Line.

*Donna Olimpia* found no small reluctance within her self to do this. However, she durst not openly deny him, for fear he should take it ill: knowing very well there was all the reason for it in the World; and that she was tyed by all the Obligations of Gratitude to contribute

tribute that to the establishing of the House of *Panfilio*, under whose protection she had gathered it. Upon which consideration, she promised to do all the Pope desired: as well assured she could leave her Daughters and Grand-children enough besides to make them defie the Devil and all his Works. Thus you may see it was no want of kindness on the Popes side, that made Prince *Panfilio* be banished: but for the Reasons I told you before, and the malice of the Mother, made him guilty.

The Princess of *Rossano* colloqued with her Mother-in-law all she could, but being against the grain of her generous temper, she could not crouch so much as the others. She shewed her all respect indeed, yet without owning in the least to have her dependance upon her: whereas on the other side the rest, when they saw her so great with the Pope, resigned themselves wholly up to her disposal.

The Pope thought it impossible for him

him to subsist without *Donna Olimpia*:  
that it was his daily discourse to the  
Cardinal-Patron her commendations,  
calling her *a Lady of great Prudence*.  
The Cardinal, who saw himself depriv-  
ed of *Panzicolo's* help, and perceiving  
the propensity of the Pope towards  
his Lady, durst not contradict him in  
the least, but complied with his Holiness  
the praise of *Donna Olimpia*, that he  
might not be guilty of his own ruin.  
Yet willingly he would not see her at  
court, as jealous of his own Interest,  
when he saw what power she had: who  
was become more Mistress than ever,  
both of the Court, Church, State and  
Pope. The Cardinal had the Honour  
to receive Embassadors: but still they  
dealt with the Pope and *Donna Olim-*  
*pia*. At last, all private Visits were layed  
aside, and she came in and out at plea-  
sure: the good man forgetting all the  
squills and Stories that had passed a-  
bout the World. But truly it was no  
wonder the Pope should forget Re-  
ports;

ports; when he had forgot himself, and the honour of the Church.

By this time the Pope grown so Old that he was thought incapable of undergoing his Dominion longer. The Physicians, whom naturally he hated, discovered no other Disease in him, than that of Fourscore Years, and the Gout, which by his excellent Disposition he had carryed off in his Old Age. In the beginning of his Reign, he would not have a Physician wait at his Table, according to the usual custom: but was dissuaded from it by *Donna Olimpia* that the Papal Majesty might not seem to stand in need of help; though the custom in this case, was more for Majesty and Greatness, than for any necessity. His Physician at last, after *Donna Olimpia* had advised him to it, prevailed with him in his latter days, not to disturb his Head with any Business: but he had a mind to live any longer, to put his Affairs into some other hands. The Pope, out of a desire to prolong his days

says, flung off all Care, both of Church and State, referring the first to certain Committees of Cardinals, and the other *Donna Olimpia* with the Cardinal-Pa-  
on.

However, this Lady was not satisfied, the Oracle of Policy, to give Law State, Church and Court: but she would dispose of the Spirituality, as she had done formerly: So that many times the Committees met at her House, before they went to their ordinary place of Consultation. Though to say the truth, she took cognisance of nothing, but what might bring her in profit: rejecting Cases that meerly concerned conscience, to the Committees, as the Pope had ordained.

It must needs seem an incredible thing to any one that hears it, when I shall go about to describe the Industry this Lady used in scraping up Wealth. But the truth is, she saw the Pope in a declining condition, and her self charg'd on all sides with Children, and Grand-  
I children,

children, obliged to leave the better half to her own Son, and yet resolved to raise the rest to a considerable fortune: so that the plentiful Revenue of the Church could not satisfy her reasonable appetite. The persecution of the *Barbarini* made her suspect, that after the Pope's Death she should not be wholly exempt from her share in the like. She well knew the proper Instrument to qualify such a misfortune would be store of Money. And she was the rather induced to believe by having seen the *Barbarini* persecuted to the utmost by the Pope, their inveterate Enemy, with a Sequestration upon all their Goods: and yet continue in Honour and Reputation, out of the meer force of a Bank they had provided against such an Accident. Therefore she made the more haste to fill her Coffers, upon presumption that it would fall more heavy upon her: because she had nothing else to trust to, having no body to pity her. The Pri

ere full of Innocents, and the Streets  
Guilty : the one preventing their  
onfinement by a price, and the other  
nstrained to buy themselves out of  
ison.

There was a Gentleman of *Rome*,  
no in confidence of his own integrity,  
ore that *Donna Olimpia* should ne-  
touch any of his Money. Now, that  
might never be obliged to make a  
tition ; he took his Son from a Clerks  
ice he was in. Yet could he not keep  
Oath : For *Donna Olimpia* hearing  
it, gave order to a certain Officer to  
ke it his business to draw him into  
Net. And he failed not to effect  
For he ordered a *Sbirro*, who en-  
ged himself I know not how one day  
Contest with this Gentleman : upon  
ich the poor Gentleman finding him-  
undervalued so by a *Sbirro*, gave  
a box on the Ear or two ; and was  
rried to Prison for it, and arraigned  
contempt of Justice, in striking a  
olick Minister, and so condemned to

die. Therefore, to save his Life, was not only obliged to present *Don Olympia* with a Purse, but likewise pay a considerable sum into the Exchequer.

This was the Lady that perswaded the Pope in no wise to meddle with the Treaty of Peace between the Christian Princes; that is, between the Crown of *France* and *Spain*, upon whose agreement depended all the rest.

Popes are used immediately after their Installment, to dispatch Nuncios extraordinary to Princes, to sollicite with all earnestness an universal Peace, sparing no pains or cost to effect it. Innocent, contrary to all the rest, was pleased to see them in pieces; laying aside not only the consideration of Universal Father, but all good Policy.

It will not be from our purpose here to propose a pretty Case, something relating to this. Two Porters were Fifty-cuffs one day about some Difference that happened between the

and it chanced to be under the Pope's Windows, where he was standing at the same instant. Some there were that would have parted them ; but the Pope forbade, giving order they should let them fight it out. They, according to the custom of such sort of people, after having fought about half an hour, gave over of themselves, and made Peace without any Intercession. Then the Pope turned to *Sanzicolo* ( who was living at that time, and stood by him ) telling him, *So will the French and Spaniard do : when they are weary of beating one another, they will agree of themselves without Help or importunity of others.* And indeed he prophesied truly ; for afterwards we saw them do so,

Hence we may gather how little a friend the Pope was to Peace. But many excuse him by laying the fault upon *Donna Olimpia* : who counselled the Pope to let them alone to themselves, and save the charges of so many extraordinary Nuntio's ; making sure to

herself all that should be saved upon that occasion ; and she had her will.

The Popes Nephews perceiving the avarice of this Lady : would not, hopes of large shares at her Death, stop her Career, but rather furthered her in all she ordered and disposed. It was a wonderfull thing to see a Woman of Threescore years of Age toyl so night and day, treating with this and t'other running up and down, without ever giving the least appearance of being tyred, answering all that came to her in proper terms. Though whoever came empty handed, was neither welcome, nor well looked upon.

How shall we say *Donna Olimpia* governed herself in regard to the Prince of Christendom ? It is certain this, she had all reason to commend and bewail themselves at the same time. For what partiality soever the Pope had for one more than another : *Donna Olimpia*, either out of fear of making Enemies at home, or being at too great expence brought

brought the good man not only to be Neuter, but to have such an indifference for even the most weighty Affairs of Princes : that, whereas other Popes esteemed it greatness to have the most important Affairs of Christendom in their hands; *Innocent*, on the contrary, never thought he spent a day worse, than when he was to give Audience to Embassadors. But why should she make the Pope so lazy? Why not rather did she counsel him to attempt great matters for the advance of his Authority, Credit and Renown far and near? A Prince that will acquire a great name; must treat with all Princes, and thrust himself into all Businesses abroad. This was the course those Popes observed that sought the name of Universal Father. But *Innocent* was the only he, that took the course rather to be considered as a private Gentleman, than so great a Prince. And in truth, *Donna Olimpia* made him let slip the fairest opportunities of immortalizing his Name, as it

may be ever any Pope will have again. Had *Urban* been alive at the time of the Revolutions at *Naples* in the Year 1647. things had gone at another rate ( and all for the better too ) for the advantage of the Church. A Pope that will interest himself in all publick and particular Concerns of Princes, carries a great Reputation and stroke in the World, it is true: but it is as true, that it cannot be done without great expence, as well in receiving as sending of errands. Wherefore it is no marvel if *Innocent*, contrary to all others, little regarded such Honour: when he had *Donna Olimpia* with him, who valued a hundred Crowns in her Purse, more than the expectation of eternal Glory. But Popes must not often have such Counsellors, if we would have Christianity flourish.

The Emperour could procure no other help, then a few Indulgencies. So that abandoned on every side, he was forced upon all disadvantage to make up

Peace with the *Swede*, to the great loss of the *Roman* Religion. The *Spaniards* had flat Denyals upon all Demands, to the grief and complaint of *Conte d'O-*  
*matte* and *il Duca dell' Infantado*, who were Embassadours at *Rome* in the time of *Innocent*, and who received gross affronts from that Court. The *French* required nothing, keeping off like out-  
lawed persons for some time: and not without grounds. For if the *Spaniard* that had made him Pope, could obtain nothing, the *French* certainly had small reason to expect favour, who had opposed his Election. So that they did well to stand off. The Duke of *May*, during the time of *Innocent*, pretended to forget those distastes, which had formerly provoked the Duke and Dutchess to withdraw their Embassadour from *Rome*: but they were much out, if they thought to get any thing by it; unless you will say the Duke got enough for the time he had enjoyed it. However *Donna Olimpia* had

had a great desire to see a Cardinal Cap promised to one of Prince *Tomas* Sons, that she might as much as possible disappoint a House, so ill affected to hers, of Heirs. This the Pope yielded to : but because neither Duke nor Dukes had a hand in it, it fell to nothing. The Duke thought (and will ever, and not without reason ) that the greatness of his House did an honour to the College of Cardinals : and therefore pretended without more ado, that his Bloud gave him title enough to such Creation. And the rather, since Cardinal *Mauritio* had out of a Caprice against the Church renounced his Cardinalship, the Church ought to restore it to his Nephew as due. But these considerations took no place in *Rome*, where Cardinals are made according to the inclination to the Interest of the present Pope. They say her Royal Highness stopped a Prelates mouth, that proposed this Business to her, with this answer, *A Hat of a Ladies presenting,*

too heavy for the Head: intimating hereby, that she would not be beholden to *Donna Olimpia*; taxing the Pope at the same time of Effeminacy.

The great Duke was not so scrupulous, after he had been so often disobliged. For when he found them stalled in the making up the Agreement with the Duke of *Parma*: he struck in with the Opportunity that offered it self, procuring another red Hat to his Family, that his party might be the strongest against the next Election. He never enquired whether *Donna Olimpia* or the Pope gave it. And herein he did wisely: as indeed the great Dukes know how to deal with the Priests, being their near Neighbours; and make no great matter of their Affronts.

*Donna Olimpia* carryed her self in a middle way towards the *Venetians*. For she knew that Common-wealth was rather of the receiving, than the giving and with the Church: so she well understood nothing kept them off better, than

than observing a distance. Yet towards her latter end she expressed great kindness to them : in hopes of protection, in any misfortune ( that is , Persecution ) should attend her. The *Genouese*, who promised themselves great matters at *Urban's* time, in order to their Titles and Royal Prerogatives, upon the compliance of the *Barbarini* with their desire, out of hopes of getting a sum of Money; when they saw how they were deluded by them , applyed themselves to *Innocent* : but they found he would not hear on that Ear , not so much as to put them in the Hopes that *Urban* did. Desponding therefore, they called home their Embassadour , who was at *Rome* for that purpose. Nevertheless being resolved to compass their end after having withdrawn their Ministers from *Rome* for some time : they sent him again, with greater assurance from *Donna Olimpia's* side , than formerly they had had from the Pope. So they gave Instructions to their Embassadour

to treat with this Lady : who , as some  
will have it , was the person that put  
the *Genouese* upon sending back a new  
ambassadour , putting them in Hopes  
of bringing their Business about again  
to some purpose. Nor did she this with-  
out Design : assured of a very great  
gain ; because they were able to make  
good, and desirous to do it upon the  
accomplishment of their Suit. Truly  
the Lady was very zealous in the Busi-  
ness, and pursued it heartily : upon  
which, the *Genouese* , to advance the  
Work , sent her no small Presents, to  
make her the more vigorous in their  
affair. The Court seemed to be for  
it ; and *Venice*, which was the likeliest  
to oppose it , seemed to be willing to  
let it pass , as not considerable enough  
to impair any of their Dignity. But  
they met with so many other Rubs and  
impediments , that came out of *Germa-*  
*ny*, *Italy* and *France* : that the Gran-  
dees of *Genoua* thought fit to desist,  
to their no little Discontent , that they  
had

had cast so many Presents away upon  
*Donna Olimpia*.

*Lucca* was the only place not talked of in the time of *Innocent* : as being of no great consequence for the streightness of their Confines. So that they had not enjoyed so much Peace for long time , as under this Pope. And *Donna Olimpia* would take occasion several times to reprove the *Barbarini*, for prosecuting so fiercely the Ruine of poor little Common-wealth , that had deserved so well of the Church. However, this was not said on free-cost : because the *Lucchesi* had provoked her with a Present.

Now to come near a conclusion of the great Industry of *Donna Olimpia* I say, that the nearer the Pope's Death approached , the greater was her affliction to find her self alone , and destitute of those necessary supports a person in her condition required. She knew very well none of her party would be able to do her any service if Ad  
versit

erfity should come upon her : and she  
as pretty well assured to have her  
are of it , considering her passed A-  
ions. To see all her Relations discon-  
ented , her own Son so ill used by her  
elf, and all the Nobility of *Rome* dete-  
ing her very Name : made her reflect  
ight and day upon her Condition. The  
rincess of *Rossano* her Daughter-in-law,  
aving so near Relation to the Duke of  
*Parma* , made her, if not fear , at least  
and upon her Guard : And the rather,  
ecause the Princess apprehending to  
that height the daily disgusts betwixt  
er and her Husband might at last come  
o , very wisely thought upon fortify-  
g her Interest in her own defence, such  
would be a Cardinal Prince of her  
ndred , that should own his prefer-  
ent immediately from her. To which  
d she employed all her Wits to get  
the Duke of *Parma's* Brother , her  
ear Kinsman, to be Cardinal. But *Don-*  
*olimpia* opposed it for the same rea-  
a under-hand : that she might not be-  
come

come too powerful. Thus was the Desert of this Prince wholly layed aside. Therefore *Donna Olimpia* did expect both Prince and Daughter-in-law to be at open defiance with her, after *Innocent's* Death.

To deliver her self of all these Inconveniencies which threatned her Ruine, it came into her Head to play a Game which should hardly be believed, when it was done. And that was to propose an Alliance with the *Barbarini*: whereby to oblige them with so near a Tie, not only to forget passed Injuries, but to stand by her Friends in future Occurrences.

The *Barbarini* were in despair of ever having so fair an Occasion offered them as was, never expecting to be reconciled to *Innocent*, it being there eight years the Persecution had been upon them. So that *Donna Olimpia* went with no difficulty in her Design. For the *Barbarini* had tryed a thousand ways to be reconciled, and could never compass it: upon which they would

Not backward, when an honour was offered. Cardinal *Antonio* was more glad of this Conjunction than the rest: having been banished for the space of eight Years from his own House, from home; nay, out of *Italy*; and forced to live in Forain Parts at so great an expence, as (besides the Suspension of his Revenues, which he had in the Church) had cost him some Millions, adding also the charge belonging to the Primogeniture.

*Donna Olimpia* therefore having a daughter of her own, and Prince *Justiniani's* Wife another marriageable: looked upon this as the only Means to pressing about her Designs. These her intentions she made be broke to the Cardinal *Francesco Barbarino*, with a promise, that if the *Barbarini* would consent to a Match for their Nephew with *Justiniani's* Daughter, she would restore them to all again, upon condition that should serve for the Portion: and so it did.

K

The

The *Barbarini* looked upon this as a Blessing to their House, which was somewhat low at present. For they doubted; if *Innocent* should die, whether his Successor would restore the Revenues, but rather keep them for his own Relations, as *Innocent* had done, and so they should utterly be disappointed. They therefore made no other answer, but that they should be happy in such an Honour. *Donna Olimpia* had designed the Match to be with the Eldest Son of *Don Tadeo*: but the *Barbarini*, though very earnest to have the thing done, yet managed the business so cunningly, as to pretend the Eldest was resolved to be a Cardinal, and relinquish his Birth-right to the Abbey and take the Abbey himself. And truly it was discreetly done: For by these means they were restored, and got another Cardinals Cap into their Family. *Donna Olimpia* easily agreed to it as being desirous to fortifie her self, which she thought she could not do better

etter, than by fortifying that House  
ne had allyed her self to; nor could  
they better secure their Interest, than  
by having another Cardinal in their  
family, who made the third. A thing  
never seen before, three Cardinals of  
the same House living at a time.

All being concluded, and the Wed-  
ding kept in great state, and to the  
astonishment of all men, to see such a  
Change: the next Creation that came,  
the elder Brother was made Cardinal.  
Thus the *Barbarini* got off; which was  
their principal Concern. For if they  
had not dispatched their Business now:  
the next Pope would not have failed  
to have given them work enough;  
which labour they now saved.

Returned into Favour, the Pope  
gave them very great respect: and to-  
gether with *Donna Olimpia*, they go-  
verned all the Church Affairs of Im-  
portance. Now for the Damage they  
suffered through eight Years Absence:  
in two Years and upwards that *Innocent*

lived afterwards, it is most certain they had licked themselves so whole again by having been formerly experienced in the Government and manner of that Climate, that you could not find where they had been hurt.

No man ought to wonder, that the Pope should so easily condescend to the Creation of another Cardinal *Barbarino*, or that they should presume to demand it over and above the Honour of so great a Match, and restauration to all their Revenues: since there was all the reason in the World for it. And will tell you how.

It is an ancient and common practice among the Popes, for the Successor to relinquish his Cardinalate to the Kindred of his Predecessor, from whom he had first received his own. Now *Innocent*, who was created Cardinal by *Urban* the Eighth a *Barbarin*, stood obliged to relinquish his Cardinalate so soon as made Pope, to the House of the *Barbarini*; that is, to create  
Cardinal

Cardinal at their Instance. The *Barbarini* did not forget to make the Demand for their Nephew the Abbot: but the good *Innocent*, hardened and incensed against them, would never hearken to it. So that upon the Reconcilement by the Match, it was no longer to be deferred, as being so clearly due.

The *Barbarini* drove on another Designe with this Marriage, which they had long sought for and desired: and that was to match with some free Princess. And truly for many Years with promises of large Sums they could never bring it about; till after they were allied to *Donna Olimpia*, and then they married their Niece to the Duke of *Modena*, a Prince of noble descent. This came easily to the *Barbarines*: because the Duke seeing them returned into Favour, and in a rising Condition, expected great matters from them; besides that he was a little straitned at that time, and wanted Money. However, the *Barbarini* gave no other Portion

with their Niece, but the resignation of the Abbey of *Nonantola*, which Cardinal *Antonio* presented to Cardinal *Este*, Brother to the Duke of *Modena*, being worth some twenty thousand Crowns a Year.

Behold the Revolutions of the *Barbarini* under *Innocent* and *Donna Olimpia*: dead and raised again, cast down and exalted beyond the fear of Fortune's vicissitude. They say it was pleasant, to see their near Combination and Friendship with *Innocent*: who committed the greatest part of his Affairs, as well Spiritual as Temporal to their management; by which means having not forgot their old wont of heaping up Riches, they gathered as fast as they could, both for themselves and *Donna Olimpia*, whom they instructed with new Devices to get Money on all hands.

The better to fortifie the House and Person of *Donna Olimpia*; the *Barbarini* advised her to marry another of her Niece

Nieces to some other great *Roman* Lord. But her Design reached farther: for thinking her self secure enough with the alliance of the three *Barbarini*, she had proposed to her self the continuance of Dominion, through a confidence of meeting with some opportunity to match her Niece with the Nephew of the next Pope, by giving a good round Sum. This made her she would not hear of bestowing her Niece, as looking upon it very feasible, and a good way, if not so entirely, in part at least to continue her power: well knowing, that the Idol of *Rome* is really Money, without dispute. But this Design did not take.

There were that put her in the head of marrying her to the Duke of *Parma*, with a promise to make his Brother Cardinal, and a large Sum of ready Money. But this was a subject rather for discourse than practice: because it is certain, the Duke would never have agreed to such a Match, though ori-

ginally he came from the Church himself.

So soon as the *Barbarini* were fully restored, the Authority of the Cardinal-Patron began to decline apace, insomuch, that some Embassadors would not lose so much time, as to treat with him, whose address they knew was no longer welcome to the Pope. Besides, the Pope was so well satisfied with the Assistance of the *Barbarini*, that he disclosed all the secrets of his Heart to them: being confident of success, through the great experience these had gained by the management of so many several Affairs, which had succeeded to them for two and twenty Years together under the Reign of their Uncle. And therefore he left more but the shadow of Power and Command to his adopted Nephew, dispatching all by the *Barbarini*. The worst for this Cardinal was, that except his ordinary Emoluments, which might be worth to him some fifty thousand

Crown

in crowns a year, attended with no small  
expence, he had not the opportunity  
to get one farthing to lay up ; so nar-  
rowly did *Donna Olimpia* watch his  
water. For the poor man had made  
out little money once of a vacant Bene-  
fice : and *Donna Olimpia* having smelt  
that out, run open mouth to the Pope to  
complain of him, that he had presumed  
to lay hands upon that he had nothing  
to do with ; upon which the Pope com-  
manded him to refund all presently to  
the said Lady. The same Cardinal re-  
lated this to me, just as I tell you : only  
that he told me so much more, as would  
require *Siri's* pen to set it all down. The  
*Barbarini* looked not with a good eye  
upon this Card. Patron : not out of any  
immediate hatred to him, but because  
he was *Panzicolo's* creature, whom they  
had had a perfect aversion for. There-  
fore they disparaged him to the Pope  
from time to time, as one that under-  
stood not the place he held : and indeed  
made it appear by evident demonstra-  
tions

tions enough. All this while *Donna Olimpia* was not wanting to contrive his ruine, as neither the Pope's naturall Nephews, who all conspired to overthrow. So that the poor Cardinall stood betwixt Hawk and Buzzard, expecting on each hand to be made a prey of every moment, little relying upon his authority, when he saw how cold the Pope grew towards him, and how warm in his kindness to the *Barbarini*. However he abated proportionably his respect to *Donna Olimpia*, as he found the Pope indifferent towards him. But to the *Barbarini* he was not only civil but obsequious, paying them the greatest honour imaginable, with all expressions of affection upon every encounter to procure their good will: but these devices are so stale in *Rome*, that nobody heeds them any more. Everyone knows that in this Countrey men do reverence to the ground in the morning to those they could willingly see hanged in the afternoon: so the obsequious

servance, courtship, reverence, salutes  
and kissing of the hand in the *Roman*  
court, are performed by the eye and  
the heart. The *Barbarini* had been  
so long trained in that School to be  
moved at those ceremonies the Cardinal  
patron bestowed upon them : and  
therefore they payed him in the like  
manner, not from the heart, but with  
the service ; which sweet they omitted  
not to embitter with such a seasoning as  
would poyson his fortunes. And they  
did their desire to the satisfaction of  
themselves, *Donna Olimpia*, and all the  
Pope's kindred.

As the interest of the Cardinal-patron  
was thus dwindling away, his hidden  
enemies were not backward to give  
the fatal blow : which to the great  
astonishment of all *Rome* was publicly  
done. For the Pope in great wrath  
against the person of this Cardinal,  
hundred out such storms of indigna-  
tion against him, that one would have  
thought greater could not have been  
sentenced

sentenced upon one guilty of High Treason. He forbid him his presence in the most disgraceful manner: commanded that upon no pretence whatever, should be permitted to approach the Court: took away from him the Title of Cardinal-Patron: deprived him of that of Nephew, with express order that he should no more be called *Papal-filio*; but *Astalli*: Sequestred his Revenues, and all the Offices and Preferments he held: and at last banished him from the City of *Rome*, with a restraint from taking any of his Moveables with him. These Extravagances made some laugh, and others complain: though from so unexpected an advance, nothing could be expected less, than a sudden and hasty Destruction, such as this was.

The noise of this was no soon spread about the City, and Cardinal *Astalli* stole privately away, out of shame to be seen in a condition so different from his former: but the *Romans*, according to their usual custom

ould needs find out the ground of all  
 s. Some ascribed it to the ambition  
 the *Barbarini*, that they might di-  
 ose wholly of the Pope, whom they  
 d got into their hands: others layed  
 the fault upon *Donna Olimpia*, who  
 uld endure no Competitor or Assi-  
 nt in gathering up her Wealth: nor  
 anted there such as verily believed  
 e Pope himself had taken occasion to  
 this thing, that towards his latter  
 d he might be reconciled to his true  
 phews, who were much offended  
 him for creating an adopted Ne-  
 ew. There is something of Reason  
 each of these Opinions to prevail  
 th us: but the chief ground of this  
 formation came from another  
 urcé; the Pope being inclined to it  
 on more intricate and deep conside-  
 ions, such as were these following.  
 In the time of *Urban* their Uncle, the  
*Barbarini* were grown so high, that they  
 ought, after so long a Reign, to do  
 racles; nor could they with patience  
 read

read that *Sistus quartus*, *Paulus tertius*, *Alexander* the sixth, *Clement* the seventh, and so many other Popes, who did not continue half the time that the Uncle had then dated, yet should compass their wishes to that degree, as to leave great and free Princes of the posterity; and they after so long a Reign, and with a greater treasure could not overcome that difficulty of making themselves free Princes. They directed all their thoughts to that Design, and with the Prospective Glasses of their ambition daily surveyed all *Italy*. They thought they had *Urban* sure, after the Duke was dead without Heir in the Year 1631. But when that Design failed them, they cast their eyes upon *Luca*, where they met with success before they had begun their Project. Afterwards the War with the Duke of *Parma* coming on, they concluded they had gained their purpose by resolving to drive the *Farnesi* out of their Principality by main force: however they

found it requisite to desist from that enterprise, for fear of draining their purse too much. At last, they fixed their eyes upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, likely to meet with better Fortune in the Acquisition of a Crown, than that of Principalities. Now as they were contriving to out the King of *Spain*, and wrest themselves of *Naples*, *Urban* dies, and soon after succeeds the Election of *Innocent*: and then they had enough to do to save their own lives without looking after Crowns, which their ambition only gave them Title to. Cardinal *Antonio* returned to *Rome*, and all the *Barbarini* into Favour with *Innocent*, they began to torment his decrees with the suggestions of conquering the Kingdom of *Naples*, not without reproaching him for letting slip so fair an occasion in the Year 1647. the time of *Mas' Anello's* Revolt. The declining estate of the *Spaniard*, made them suppose the attempt more feasible than they themselves could comprehend.

The

The Pope, doting with Age, readily consented to the Design. *Donna Olimpia* expecting to have the largest share for her Nephews and Sons, was resolved to contribute a considerable Sum of ready Money: and the *Barbarini* engaged to maintain an Army of ten thousand Men at their own Cost, till the Church should be absolutely in possession; only upon condition that the Principality of *Salerno* should remain exempt from the other Dominions to the House of the *Barbarini*, with a freedom to pretend to buy in other with the Money. The truth is, finding this Kingdom so spacious, and full of Principalities; they thought not only to make their Nephews, but all their Foot-Born Princes. Thus furiously doth Ambition drive.

These Transactions were carried with great secrecy betwixt the Pope, the *Barbarini*, *Donna Olimpia*, and some of her nearest Relations. The Cardinal-Patron was judged unfit to be taken

as one that discovered too much inclination towards the *Spaniard*; and so was wholly excluded from such conferences. However, they could not be so close, but that the Cardinal bred a mistrust of it; which made him industrious to discover the bottom; and that no sooner done, but to give proof of his Fidelity to *Spain*; and that he should be revenged of the *Barbarians*, who would not trust him; he gave an exact Accompt to the *Spaniard*, with whom he held a streight League of friendship.

Monsignor *Azzolini* was at that time under the Briefs, which is a charge of great Importance, Trust and Secrecy: so that he was likewise privy to the secret we spoke of before. The Pope soon understood that the *Spaniard* had sifted all out, and by consequence knew his Design; but he presently gave order to *Azzolini*, to use all diligence possible, to find out who had revealed the Business: with an assurance

L

of

of a Cardinals Cap, so soon as he should discover the Traitor. *Azzolini* tempted by this invitation, set to his task which in plain language is a Spie : and with little noise and great industry found out the Traitor, intimating privately to the Pope, making it evident to him the treachery of his adopted Nephew, as being the Person that had revealed this Secret. For which Cause, the Pope used Cardinal *Azzolini* so ill, as he did : and made *Azzolini* Cardinal in recompense of this Service the first Promotion that fell after the Accident. Thus of these two Youths, one as Traitor, was in disgrace with the Pope ; the other as Spie, got the Cardinals Cap ; and one way or other both remain Cardinals.

Upon this, *Donna Olimpia* finding her Brother-in-law quite decayed as it was with the Age of fourscore Years, which is considerable for a Gouty person, who had continually a world of Cares upon him ; or whether it was that the Pope

him

himself, sensible of his own failings and  
 decay of parts, with the loss of his Taste,  
 apprehending least the Spaniards, in-  
 sed against him, should procure his  
 death, by some little preparation they  
 used to provide for such as they  
 not confide in; and not knowing to  
 do better to commit his Life, than  
 that dear Kinswoman, for whose  
 he had forfeited the reputation of  
 a Person, and the honour of the  
 Church: he resolves to call her into the  
 place, and put himself intirely into  
 her hands, and the discretion of her  
 conduct. A thing altogether new, not  
 heard of before; that Ladies  
 should govern Popes. Though to me  
 seems not at all strange; that the fami-  
 ly which had commanded him in his  
 youth, should take care of him in his  
 Age. *Donna Olimpia* on this number of old  
 a pretty sight, they say, it was to  
*Donna Olimpia* in the Pope's Cham-  
 ber constantly by his Bed-side, holding  
 up of his hands between hers: for he

was not able for weakness to sit up. She had so contrived Curtains to be drawn at the side of the Bed, that she could see without being seen, and hear without being perceived. And this she used to withdraw her self at any time, when the Pope gave Audience to Embassadors, who should not be able to utter a word that this concealed Lady would not be privy to: though often times her Veil was taken off, and she would answer herself in behalf of the languishing Pope, to the no small affliction of the Embassadors.

This Lady fed the Pope with her own hands, having given much stricter order than usual, that no body should come into the Popes Kitchen unless she were by, only the Cook himself. Most commonly she made a Table be drawn to the Bed-side, where she dined with the Pope, though she would never admit her Son to that Honour. In fine, there was no more talk in the Palace, but of her

*Olimpia*, *Donna Olimpia* here, and *Donna Olimpia* there, all Letters delivered to *Donna Olimpia*; it was *Donna Olimpia* that perused them: the Memorials were no longer brought to the Pope, but to *Donna Olimpia*, who told him the Contents of them, and had always this Duplicate for Answer, *Fate, fate voi*; as much as to say, Pray you look after it.

A man could see nothing but *Prebends* still going up the *Vatican Stairs*: if you never saw any come back again. Every two or three days, you should meet three or four Porters loaded with Money. At night *Donna Olimpia* would slip out to visit her own *Palace*: having first locked up the Pope's Chamber, and taken the Key with her. All the Pope spoke with, he told him plainly, that but for *Donna Olimpia* he should be dead, and that he owed his Life to her. The Princess of *Castellano* came into the Pope's Chamber every day to visit him, while *Donna Olim-*

*pia* fate upon the Bed by him, hold  
 him by the hand. The Princess in  
 middle of their discourse finding a  
 opportunity, said laughing to the Po  
*Most holy Father, I am jealous to see*  
*make so much of my Mother-in-law*  
*is old, and not of me that am so*  
*younger.* The Pope seeming to be  
 up the Humour, answered her merry  
*The hand that wounded me, is that which*  
*gives me relief.* Words that howe  
 meant, confirmed the Princess in  
 fuspicion she had of these two.

At last *Donna Olimpia* grew so sus  
 cious that any body should come ne  
 him, as she would not leave him a m  
 ment, though her own Son or Ro  
 tions were in the room. Having th  
 made herself a Prisoner, she was seen  
 more to pass the streets of *Rome*, not  
 much as to go in Devotion to a  
 Church: only, as I told you, sometime  
 she would steal out to her own Pal  
 by night to turn over her Bags.

Her keeping so close to the Po

and by consequence her not appearing  
broad, made the Courtiers interpret  
not her care of the Pope, but fear of  
the People: who as soon as ever they  
saw her, would set a running after her  
Coach, crying Bread, Bread. Insomuch,  
that one day she had much ado to save  
her Life. For the people, enraged to  
have one continual Famine last all over  
the City and Territory of *Rome*, be-  
sides so many other grievances, which  
produced nothing but the embellishing  
of a few streets with Fountains, and  
the satiating *Donna Olimpia's* thirst af-  
ter Gold: as they saw her Coach pass  
by, they came up to it in a rude and  
insolent manner, calling her a thousand  
Whores; so that she was fain to make  
her escape into a Covent, and after-  
wards to the Popes Palace, leaving it  
to his Holiness to qualifie them by a  
dole of some quantity of Bread. After  
this affront, she was ashamed to appear  
publick: besides that she mistrusted  
to meet with some worse misfortune.

Notwithstanding the people ceased not to exclaim daily against her, singing scurrilous Ballads of her, all night about the streets. Nay, I must tell you a great company of the Rabble got into to her House one day in a great Fury and were going to pillage it, if the Pope had not presently in prevention sent some Bishops to disperse a thousand or more of Crowns to be scrambled for by the people, which with large promises quieted them for the present.

She would have made her peace with all the Malecontents towards the latter end of her Brother-in-law: but that her greediness after Riches would not let her think of the means of doing it. Besides, that she presumed to be well enough fortified by the alliance of the *Barbarini*: having Wealth enough to defie Fortune. She was a little concerned, that she had any difference with Cardinal *Sforza*, for the displeasure she had done him: not out of any fear she had directly of his person; but because

because she knew him to be a man of a  
 turbulent Spirit, and easily provoked  
 to talk; so she doubted, when *Innocent*  
 was dead, he might by his discourse  
 procure her more trouble.

This Cardinal, who is yet alive, and  
 hath a Genious, fitter for a Souldier,  
 than a Priest, was made Chamberlain  
 in Cardinal *Antonio's* place, which  
 carries profit as well as great Honour  
 along with it. But according to his  
 free way of speaking, he began to in-  
 veigh openly against *Donna Olimpia*,  
 not being able to mention her but with  
 great bitterness in all company, to the  
 great disparagement of her person: so  
 that she was necessitated to disgrace  
 him with the Pope, and oblige him to  
 retire to his Church of *Rimini*, where  
 he is Bishop. There was nothing at  
 this time terrified *Donna Olimpia* so  
 much, as this Cardinals tongue: and she  
 would most readily have obliged him,  
 upon condition he would have left off  
 his murmuring kind of Musick. But when  
 she

she considered one of that Kidney was never to be won, either with Gifts, Promises, or Hopes: she changed her Note and made as if she was not concerned for him; about which time *Innocent* died.

After the Month of *September* in the Year 1654. the Pope began to decline his past hopes. With the vigour of his body, the faculties of his mind began to fail him, insomuch as he forgot by night what he had done in the morning, and many times talked idly. Upon which *Donna Olimpia* suffered him to be seen as little as possible, even to his best Friends; and when she could not hinder the admittance of an Embassadour, she treated him to use as few words as might be; ever pretending that he had not Rested well that night, to make them think his distemper came from want of sleep, and not decay of Spirits.

Prince *Camillo*, otherwise called *Panfilio*, removed his Habitation to the Court, that is the *Vatican*, to receive the Audience of the Embassadours.

But they made little address, seeing the Popes condition, and that nothing ever came to a Result, but still put off with this answer: that they must wait for the Recovery of a decayed, dying Pope. The Princess likewise came to Court with her Husband; but did not appear publicly, and for the most part continued in her own Palace all the day time. In short, the Ladies were seen walk up and down the *Vatican* by Night. The Princess *Justiniani*, the Princess *Ludovisi*, and the Princess *Panfilia*, came in all one Night, to the high displeasure of *Donna Olimpia*. However, this great Concourse of Women was observed only for a Month before the Pope died. Hence was it that *Pasquin* seeing many Ladies in the *Vatican*, contrary to the usual custom, made bold to tell *Marforio* merrily;

*Se tu vuoi fare il Ruffiano,*

*Troverai Donne a' Vaticano.*

If you've a mind to play the Ruffian,  
You may find Wenches at the *Vatican*.

The

The Pope continued ten days without any use of Reason: and it is thought *Donna Olimpia* got in that time, above half a Million. For the aspiring Spirits for fear of letting slip so fair an opportunity, and knowing the greediness of *Donna Olimpia*, run as if the Devil drove them to buy Ecclesiastical preferments: which she bestowed with her eyes shut, so they came but with their hands open. I know a Canon that had sought for a Bishoprick more than a hundred times, without ever obtaining it. And the reason was, he would give *Donna Olimpia* but five thousand Crowns for it, and she demanded eight thousand: so that though he came up at last to six thousand, they could not agree. But now towards the latter end of the same *Donna Olimpia* sends for him to know whether he was still in the same mind he had been formerly; and when she found him a little cool, protesting to her that a violent temptation of the Flesh had made him spend

two thousand Crowns upon a lewd Woman: Oh, well, well, says she, then you have four thousand Crowns left, bring them to me, that you may not lose that which I keep for you, and you shall be Bishop for me; so shall I not lose the satisfaction of presenting so worthy a person to that Dignity. Thus was he declared Bishop at the very instant he layed down his four thousand Crowns. Another Clergy Man, that had purchased a Benefice for two thousand Crowns, felt such a remorse of Conscience a little while after, that he would not go to take possession, but came to *Donna Olimpia*, and did beseech her to accept his surrender of that he had never yet entred upon, and only pay him back three parts of what he had given her: for he felt the torments of Hell for the *Simony* he had contracted. *Donna Olimpia* gave him no other answer, but that the Pope was yet living, and that he gave him his Benediction; by which means

means the Devils could do him no harm. This was the comfort she ordinarily gave to *Simoniakes*.

It is incredible to reckon up the gross Simonies that were committed in *Rome*, during the sway of this Lady, especially towards the latter end. The *Barbarini* made great hast to be Rich under the Reign of their Uncle; but yet they never forgot their reverence to the Church, still making their gain some other way, than by that of *Simony*. And if they did chance to make bold a little, it was very privately, and not with such open impudence as this Lady. But the truth is, the *Barbarini* disposed of a Church, where they were to continue as Cardinals, now *Donna Olimpia* commanded the Church, which it was likely some time or other, she would be obliged not only to quit, but fly from as a Woman.

A certain Marquis had the curiosity at a great expence and trouble, to make a Computation of the *Simonies* committed

mitted by *Donna Olimpia* : but for fear of being reputed a Heretick, he left his Work unfinished, having discovered that in *Marca* only, which is but an indifferent Province; she had sold in the space of ten Years, three hundred thirty six Benefices, that were commonly known, besides what had passed under-hand. The Confessors protested the name of *Simony* was become scandalous and frequent, that many would not go to Church, because they would not meet with Church-men; and others finding the abuse so general, would not believe it to be a Sin.

The *French* Prelates had nothing to answer the Protestants, that Jeered at the Church of *Rome* for its *Simony*, and other Enormities there committed: so that they encreased their Church very much by it.

A *German* Bishop, who had some number of Protestants in his Diocess, doubted to hear so many Reproaches, and see so many Writings they published,

ed, to the shame of the *Roman Church* for her frequent *Simonies* : took occasion one day to write to the Congregation of Cardinals ; that if the *Simonies* of Donna Olimpia ceased not in Rome, he should run hazard of losing his Bishoprick, and the Church of Rome the People. This Letter came not to Rome till three days before the Pope's Death : and then Cardinal *Francesco Barbarino* kept it from the other Cardinals.

*Spain*, which is thought the firmest part of Christendom to the Church of Rome, began to waver a little upon those horrid accompts were brought of the Ladies disposal of the Church. Nay, there were Bishops that called a Synod, to advise how to extinguish that scandalous name of *Simony*, which gave so high offence both to Clergy and People.

At last it pleased the divine goodness, which rules all, to free the Church of so abominable a scandal by the death of the Pope.

Innocent

Innocent died the seventh of January, in the Year 1655, after he had governed ten Years, four Months and twenty Days. A Pope, that truly might have deserved a better Record, had his Manners been debauched by his Sister-in-law.

The Church hath no reason to complain of him, as he was himself; but it complains in him of *Donna Olimpia*. Had she made *Donna Olimpia* live in him, and not he in her, his Ashes might have deserved an eternal Monument, and not be buried in oblivion, as it is now necessary, to abolish the memory of his Sister-in-law. He was not innocent, because *Donna Olimpia* was Innocent: and had she been innocent, he might have deserved the name of *Anna*.

The two Nights before he died, all his Kindred were busied in carrying away the Moveables from the Vatican. *Donna Olimpia's* Palace: and that with great secrecy, for fear if the

People

People should get knowledge of it they should out of confidence that the Pope were dead, stop them by any way by force, out of the great hatred they had for *Donna Olimpia*. But Fortune was so favourable, as not to make the least rub in the way, as I suppose that she might conclude with the favourable aspect upon this Lady, she had begun.

**But** this had *Donna Olimpia* no sooner closed the Pope's Eyes: but leaving her Body where it had expired in the Quirinale; she, by the assistance of some of her Confidants, got to her own Palace with her Son and Nephews, after having given notice to the Cardinals and Embassadors by some of the Clergy as the custom is. But this advice was two days going about after the Pope's death. For his Relations conceal it as long as it is possible, that they may justify their Interest in the mean time, and get Money so long as they can.

**The Death of Innocent** was no sooner divulged

divulged; but the City began to rejoice, as it always does in such Conjunctions. And no wonder: since that which gives the People so great a satisfaction, is the Liberty they have of sitting in an empty Chair. The Cardinals are ravished with the Hopes that they pretend to, if not directly to be Pope, at least to have one of his own choosing. All the Kindred and Friends of the Cardinals are drunk with joy, and think that they may arrive to the same pitch, the former are fallen from, and lastly, the discontented parties are glad to find themselves quitted of a present oppression.

But if ever *Rome* was in a merry mood for the Death of a Pope, certainly it was for that of *Innocent*. It is beyond all comparison, not so much in respect of *Innocent* himself, as *Donna Olimpia*, whom they perfectly hated. All sort of People blessed God for his Mercy, in delivering the Church from the violence of *Donna*

*Olimpia.* It was verily believed, that during the vacancy, the Fury of the rude Multitude would have offered some Insolence to the Face and Person of this Lady: who therefore appeared abroad as little as she could. However nothing happened. For as they say *Rome, When the Dog is dead, all Males die with him.* Thus they thought no more of Donna Olimpia: as fearing on the other side, to draw the displeasure of all those other great Families, she was allied to, upon themselves.

But yet if ever she found her self a peck of Troubles, it was at this time for fear she should see some Pope that was her Enemy, in the *Vatican*. So she was industrious beyond measure, in making out the Addresses and Inclinations of the Cardinals, and entertaining private Conferences with her Intimate the *Barbarini* especially. So that by her Vigilancy & contrivance she prevailed with some Cardinals to make up a fighting Squadron, as you shall see hereafter:

It began to appear plainly in the Conclave, which was held in the Sacristy of S. Peter, that there was an evident division in the Opinions of the Cardinals: and by consequence it was like to hold long, each Faction resolving to be obstinate in their Cause. Donna Olimpia, that she might likewise have her share in the Conclave, that might look like a Party, addressed herself to some Creatures of the New College; that is, Cardinals created by Innocent, to form themselves in a Body, under the name of the Flying Squadron. The motion was very well received, and put into execution. It so true, there were some admitted that had no great kindness for *Donna Olimpia*: but she was assured of the major part, who resolved to make no Pope, that were not a Friend to the House of *Pansilio*. Yet at last, she could not but have a suspicion of them: when having sent her Son, the Prince *Pansilio*, to entertain the Cardinals of the Flying Squadron,

dron, to put themselves under a Head which he named, and it was *Cardinal John Carlo di Medici*, who for his Seniority in the New Colledge, and the greatness of his Birth, and being the first of *Innocent's* creation, might have deserved; they gave this answer, *That they had each of them a Head of their own, and Feet to walk upon, without being beholding to any Body else for them*.

It would require some time here to set down all the passages and transactions of the Conclave. For to be true, setting aside the Interests of *France* and *Spain*, every thing being either to the ruine or preservation of *Donna Olimpia*. The Cardinals that were her Enemies, would have given their Voices for the Devil, if he would have stood her Enemy: and her Friends would have shut out a Saint had he declared against her. And truly, their violent proceedings gave to understand as much. Those that most stickled for her, were these six

the three *Barbarini*, *Azzolini*, *Cherubino*, and *Gualtieri*. They were more than thirty that opposed her, of which eight or nine of *Innocent's* own Creatures, which were the Cardinals *Sforza*, *Savelli*, *Astalli*, *Lomellino*, *Impeiale*, *Borromea*, *Pio*, *Ludovico*, *Aldrandino*, and her own Nephew *Malachini*; who first declared himself her enemy, as the Fates would have it, and made more Noise than all of them against his Aunt. Though indeed, he was but laughed at for his pains by the Conclave, which had a very mean Opinion of him. Nay his Aunt, when she heard how loud he was, said only this, *The Voice of an Ass will never reach Heaven.*

It was verily thought, nay, the Cardinals themselves made it appear, that had it not been for the Interests that *Donna Olimpia* drove on, the Conclave had been at an end within a Month, whereas now it lasted three. The Lady pleased her self to think of Cardinal

*Francesco Barbarino* his being Pope: he that layed her Concerns most at heart, after the Reconcilement. And truly he pushed hard for it: carryed more than thirty Voices, that stood stiffly to have none but him. A Cardinal, who for his uprightness of Life deserved such an Honour: had that been the Rule the Conclave went by. Except *Barbarino*, *Donna Olimpia* was to seek whom to wish for, as a Pope to her purpose, had it been left to her choice: so that all her Endeavours were only to keep off her declared Enemies.

Among these, there were three particularly excluded for this Ladies sake. The first was Cardinal *Palotta*, a Man well deserving, and one that was biased with no Interest, which used to be the great obstacle to that preferment. He was no sooner brought into play, but Cardinal *Barbarino* declared he would never give way to the Election of a person, from whom was infallibly to be expected the Punishment.

Donna Olimpia, who had done considerable Injuries to Palotta. So this man's hopes were disappointed, & to the dislike of many an honest Man. The second was Cardinal *Maculano*, of the order of St. *Dominick*, who bare the name of St. *Clement*: and indeed there was not so much stir for any body in the Conclave, as about his Election. He was a Cardinal, but lived more like a hermit, than a person of that quality; never being able to forget his Cloister life: upon which many judging him to be a consciencious person, put hard for his Election. But *Donna Olimpia* looked upon him as a Fury, or the Devil in humane shape: because *Innocent*, out of private perfect hatred he bare him, had always represented him so to her. And therefore during his Reign she was continually putting affronts upon the poor man, not so much to satisfy her own malice, as to please her Brother-in-law. Now this made the Lady doubt if *Maculano* should be made Pope, he would

would take all his revenge out upon her. So she gave in charge never to approve of *Maculano*, but to set him down in the book as the first to be excluded.

*Barbarino* promised to do his best and did it with a great deal of pain and the help of Cardinal *Antonio*, who concurred likewise in the exclusion. The Partisans of *St. Clement* finding themselves at a stand, made all men possible to quiet *Donna Olimpia*. They alledged that *Maculano* or *St. Clement* being a Subject of the Duke of *Parm* so near a Relation to the Princess *Rossano* her Daughter-in-law, would certainly never do her any prejudice because the greatest mischief being what should concern her estate, he would never do that for the Prince's sake, who was to share in the inheritance. But these seeming reasons incensed *Donna Olimpia* the more. For when she considered that her persecution must be kept off by the Prince

er means : she took on like a Mad-  
woman, swearing, That she had rather  
risk under the Indignation, than live  
on the recommendation of her Daugh-  
ter-in-law. Thus was St. Clement kept  
out.

The third they shut out was *Cecchini*,  
who hated her more than all the rest, by  
reason of the Process that was commen-  
ded by her means against him and *Mas-  
embruno*, to take away the Datary  
from them, and to be made incapable  
of any office where the Pope had to  
do. In short, he was persecuted as  
guilty of high Treason against this  
city, and therefore apprehending his  
danger, she made it her business to ex-  
clude him, and did effect it.

Many others there were that she ex-  
cluded, but not with that violence as  
she did these three, openly professing  
rather to dye, than see any of them  
scape. Nevertheless if she had her  
will against her enemies, which were not  
few, she missed of it in the behalf of  
her

her friends: and indeed she and *Barberine* declared, so they could keep her sworn enemies, they did not much care who else was chosen.

However they did endeavour to set up Cardinal *Cherubino*, one of little experience, and no Conjuror. But such defects are not much considered in the Conclave, and therefore did him no harm: They were only *Donna Olimpiade*'s Adversaries that would not admit him, because he was of her sect. That it was observed more than once, Cardinals answered those that proposed *Cherubino* in the self same words after another, *I give my vote against him because I will not have Donna Olimpiade triumph amongst the Cherubins.*

This Lady had no great opinion of *Sacchetti*; yet she did not oppose him openly. Afterwards seeing how fierce his Partisans carried on his cause, who thought verily to have made him Pope, being less afraid of him than of many others that put for it, to cajole with

him, she began to make *Azzolini* and *Gualtieri* for him; who did their weak endeavour, though in vain.

Cardinal *Spada*, counterfeiting himself sick, got out of the Conclave, and presently began to treat with *Donna Olimpia*, desiring her to stand *Caragna's* friend, who had gone all along with her party: to whom she made answer, that she had referred all to Cardinal *Barbarina*, whose choice she was resolved to stand to. Thus returned the good man into the Conclave again, but without ever compassing his design.

The Cardinals *Gualtieri* and *Azzolini* without doubt got a great deal of will in the Conclave, of which Cardinal *Francesco Barbarino* had no small share: and that for the great disturbance they made to maintain *Donna Olimpia's* Interest, who was discoursed of in the Conclave with most ignominious language. They wondered not so much at *Azzolini* and *Gualtieri*, because they looked

looked upon them as men of lives little answerable to their dignity; besides that, they were not made by the Church but *Donna Olimpia*, and so not by desert but that which amazed them, was to see a Cardinal, such as *Barbarino*, so good and sincere a person, that we may say he was the glory of the Consistory, forsake the Interest of the Church, and embrace that of a Woman. Diverse Cardinals, when they saw *Barbarino* would not allow of *Paletta* and *Maculano* for *Donna Olimpia's* sake, began to say, they should never have believed, that *Barbarino* would prefer a wicked woman before two good men. Cardinal *Sforza*, who endeavoured more than any to procure a Pope, that should be her enemy, that he might have the satisfaction to see her well chastized, was not able to endure that *Barbarino* should concern himself so much for her, went about all the Conclave, telling them according to his wonted bluntness, That till then he had taken *Barbarino* for a good

good Cardinal, but for the future he should  
look upon him as the Son of a Whore.

At last the Cardinals, weary of a  
three months prison, resolved to make  
an end of the rather because it was told  
them the people would endure no lon-  
ger to be without a Head, and so much  
to their inconvenience want the usual  
Courts of Judicature; besides that,  
they murmured more and more against  
*Donna Olimpia*, as the person they sup-  
posed in great measure guilty of this  
delay. This they feared might draw  
on some publique as well as private  
mischiefs: and therefore they agreed to  
come to the election of one that should  
give distast to neither side.

And that was Cardinal *Ghigi*, now  
*Alexander the Seventh*. His good man-  
ners, and exemplary Life to the world,  
his discreet manage, and universal  
learning, made so just a composition in  
him, that he was the only man judged  
capable of governing *St. Peter's Ship* in  
boisterous times.

He

He was made Cardinal by *Innocent* with the approbation of all the house of *Pansilio*. Wherefore *Donna Olimpia*, and those Cardinals that stuck to her willingly concurred in his election. For they did not think it any way likely that he should entertain an ill thought against the Kinswoman of that Pope who had made him Cardinal.

On the other side, those Cardinals which did not favour *Donna Olimpia* did not only forbear to hinder but promoted the advance of *Gibigi* more than all the rest. For they did believe such a Pope would be more inclin'd to the severity of *Eliab*, than the mildness of *Elifha*: and therefore would not fail to chastise her Ladyship for the mischief she had done the Church. They thought it impossible so zealous a Pope should forbear to give testimony to all the world of his high resentments against that Woman, who was looked upon as the engine of all the rogueries that were committed under *Innocent's* reign. The Cardinals

Cardinals *Sforza* and *Astalli* her sworn enemies, speaking with other Cardinals their friends about the election of *Ghigi*; told them, if they both were contrived into a Pope, they should not be able to punish her so sufficiently, as *Ghigi* would do. For nothing could contribute so much to the scourging of her for her Simonies, as the zeal of *Ghigi*.

Thus the night before the scrutiny, being resolved upon, the Cardinals *Medici* and *Barbarino* sent to *Ghigi* to bid him be of good comfort, that on the morrow they would come to pay him adoration. Cardinal *Rosetti* *Ghigi*'s enemy, being not able to hinder the election, asked Cardinal *Barbarino*, what strange extravagances are these, that Donna Olimpia's enemies will have the same Pope her friends desire: and her friends the same her enemies wish for. To which *Barbarino*, that he might stop his mouth, and make him go along with them in the election, answered; Mar-

vail not : For we are resolved to have one that is not our Creature : the Medici, one of their Subjects : France, one that they had excluded : and Spain, an uninterested Person.

It is not to be imagined what Joy there was every where, at the Election of Cardinal *Ghigi*. There was not one Negative Voice found in the Scrutiny which seldom happens at the Election of a Pope. *Rosetti* himself, that swore he would cut his Hand off, before he should contribute to *Ghigi's* Election gave his Vote in the end.

So soon as he was declared Pope, he fell upon his Knees, and prayed, and wept a little, and then gave his Assent taking the name of *Alexander*. Then going out of the Conclave in Procession, and conducted to the *Vatican*, he began to exercise his Parts upon the Papal Authority. You could hear no other Discourse throughout *Rome*, but of his Piety, from which they expected great matters. Prince *Camillo* Pa

io, went one of the first to congratulate him : to whom his Holiness expressed a great kindness and respect. *Donna Olimpia* was resolved to be none the last : but besides a Congratulation, she made him by her *Maggioromo*, she sent Cardinal *Azzolini* on purpose to spy out the Land, (an employment very natural to him) and to let the Pope know how great Joy she had to see one Pope, to whom her kinsman had opened the way by making him Cardinal ; and the more, because she had always represented him to Innocent, as a Man of extraordinary parts ; so that she seemed to share with him in the advance of his Fortunes.

*Alexander*, that knew *Azzolini* very well, and the constitution of *Donna Olimpia* ; answered him in ambiguous terms, that neither argued an acceptance, nor undervaluing of their Service : which, when *Azzolini* had related to the Lady, she began to mistrust the worst.

Indeed *Alexander* had a very ill opinion of her ; but would not shew the effects of it at first so vigorously , lest he should seem moved out of self-interest , always professing to do things leisurely and with advice , as his practice witnesseth. Her Adversaries would not importune the Pope about her , just so soon as he was established : and they had reason for it. For by this means , the Pope of himself , would upon several occasions , discover the wicked practices of the said Lady : and when the way was once opened to her persecution , then would they set their last hands to the work.

They failed not of their aim. For the Pope met with Motives every day both in his Civil , and Ecclesiastical Transactions , to quarrel and imprison *Donna Olimpia*. The Datary was wholly corrupted by the *Simonies* she had introduced , all Places sold , no Treasury left , and a thousand other miscarriages appeared every day. His Zeal

ould not see this, and sit still. Therefore he gave full Instructions to all his Officers, Spiritual and Temporal, to make strict Enquiry, and thoroughly inform themselves of the Conduct of *Donna Olimpia*, in the Reign of *Innocent*: and that he might be the more exactly certified, he not only gave charge to his ordinary Officers, but deputed other private Inquisitours in *Rome*, and about the State.

*Donna Olimpia* was so well advised of this diligence the Pope used against her, that she tried all was possible to save her self. She sent Prince *Panfilio* to beseech his Holiness not to give credit to the malicious Informations of her Enemies, and that she referred her self to his untainted Justice and Bounty: to which he only answered, *If she rely upon Us, We will do her Justice.*

Her Adversaries by this time began to play their parts: each profering to prove a hundred Misdemeanours *Donna Olimpia* had committed against the Church.

There was not a day passed over the Pope's head, that he had not presented him a hundred Memorials, to demand Justice against this Lady: beside private Informations without number. All those that she had made her Bargains with, posted them.

Cardinal *Barbarino*, at the entreat of *Donna Olimpia*, went himself to speak to the Pope in her behalf, before matters should be gone too far: but found him so averse to hear of any Intercession, that he durst not appear for her, as plainly finding his words would do her more harm than good. For he saw the Pope so zealous for the good of the Church, that in stead of Clemency, he recommended Justice to him: so that he told him at parting *That he wuld treat Donna Olimpia, as a Prince ought to do with Justice, and the Pope with Clemency: though her Actions shewed she had neither Clemency nor Justice.* But *Barbarino* would not terrifie the poor Lady, by repeating to her the

the same words, only wished her to be as wary and circumspect, as she could.

Now the Pope began to discover his Intentions, of calling *Donna Olimpia* to an accompt for all the Money she had received of the Church: upon which, her Relations fearing to lose their share of so goodly an Inheritance, especially the Prince her Son, all joyned to help her. The Princess *Rossano*, had it been only designed to torment her Carcass, no doubt would not have spoke a word for her: but finding it extend to the Purse, thought her self obliged for her Childrens sake, to endeavour her utmost to preserve not her, but her Estate. However some of the Cardinals would not meddle with so ticklish a Business: as to oppose a Pope, who was admired and adored, not so much for the eminence of his degree, as his exemplary Life. Yet all joyned in this advice: that she should stand the first shock, before she fled.

In the mean time *Donna Olimpia* pro-

ferred to have Audience of the Pope, but she was shamefully refused, the Pope declaring he would give Audience to no Woman, but upon a very urgent occasion. And they say he answered the Messenger over and above *That Donna Olimpia had been too familiar with Popes, and therefore she might dispense with seeing them any more.*

The private Inquisitours that I told you of before, who were appointed to learn out the Carriage of *Donna Olimpia* while her Brother-in-law was Pope, brought in daily thousands of Accusations against her, that ought to have been punished not only by pecuniary Mults, but bodily chastisement. The cry and complaints of so many poor Bishops that were oppressed, so many worthy learned Men undone, so many honest Men persecuted with Hunger, because they had not Money to present *Donna Olimpia* for a preferment, reached up to Heaven: besides that many times as the Pope passed the Street, you should hear

hear the people cry out for Justice a-  
gainst *Donna Olimpia*.

Many began already to be scandalized  
at the Pope, that he proceeded so slowly  
in a Business of this nature. The *Barba-*  
*verini* themselves, who considering the  
Pope's zeal, thought it impossible for  
her Ladyship to escape, knew not what  
to think of it: when they saw how  
boldly he came on, after so clear Evi-  
dences. Her adversaries daily instan-  
ced against her, and the Plaintiffs  
brought in their Depositions: though  
indeed one would have thought the  
general out-cry and clamour, would  
have been Evidence enough to have  
punished her by, that had robbed all  
and some.

While things were thus wavering,  
*Donna Olimpia* calls all her greatest  
Confidants together, to advise how to  
provide against the storm, which she  
looked upon as unavoidable. There  
were those that counselled her to retire  
from *Rome* into some neighbouring  
part,

part, or into the State of some of her Nephews, under pretence of taking the Air: but this was not approved of. For by her departure, she would certainly encourage her Enemies, and cause many to shew themselves, that had not yet appeared: besides that the Rabble would be ten times more Insolent in her absence, than now. Some would have had her gone to *Loreto*, in *cognita*, as out of Devotion: which was not liked for many reasons. The rather, because not being able to get out of *Rome* without the Pope's Leave and Blessing, to be sure he was already resolved to grant or deny, according as it best suited with his Designs: and thus it would not be discretion to make a bootless attempt. The Prince her Son, who was by, judged it not convenient to call the Chirurgeon before she was wounded: then turning to his Mother, he bid her be of good comfort, telling her, *Madam, the Fool runs away while his House is burning*  
L down.

down. Stay at Rome, and think of no other Refuge. Look you but to your Person, and we will take care of your Estate. Thus was this Conference determined with a sumptuous Collation : though Cardinal *Barbarino*, who was one there, would not stay, but excused himself after his usual manner upon such occasions.

That which *Donna Olimpia's* Friends and Relations proposed for her Honour, the Pope executed by way of Justice. For he sent one of his Couriers to *Donna Olimpia*, to command her expressely from him to leave *Rome* within three days, and in eight to be at *Orvieto*, which is a City about thirty Miles from *Rome* : from whence she was not to stir, without new Orders from his Holiness.

It is no easie matter to say, how much this Order disturbed her. Yet she put a good Face upon it ; telling those that were about her, that she thanked God, who had given her a Judge, whose  
good

good nature disposed him to nothing but what was just ; to whose Breast she referred her Cause most willingly , and assured of her own Innocence.

*Barbarino* was resolved to venture another bout in her behalf , against his own inclination : but he found the Pope so much more hardened than formerly , that there was no coming near him ; and so was fain to take his Leave with a *Lord have mercy upon us*. The Pope gave him no other answer to all his Discourse , than this , *We shall take more pity of Donna Olimpia , than she had sometimes of the Barbarini*. The Cardinal casting down his Eyes with his wonted gravity , remained silent ; till provoked by I know not what suggestion at last , desired his Holiness to pardon *Donna Olimpia* , as his Family had done after so many provocations. These words seemed to warm the Pope a little , without putting him by his constant gravity : and he answered the Cardinal in his own terms , *You have*  
*excused*

excused her, because it was for Your Interest: but We cannot, because it will hurt our Conscience. Here the Pope stopped, and the Cardinal immediately took his Leave, with the usual Ceremonies: returning strait to Donna Olimpia, to give her an accompt of what had passed. Much about the same time, Prince *Panfilio* desired Audience of the Pope: who made him be told, he would give Audience to none of *Donna Olimpia's* Relations, till she were gone out of *Rome*.

It was therefore thought convenient that without any more to do, she should prepare to obey his Holiness: since her delay would do her but an Injury. So she went out of *Rome*, incognito, the second day after the Order. That night she lay some two Miles out of Town, where almost all her Friends and Relations came to see her, in particular, the Cardinals *Azzolini* and *Gualtieri*, who bid her take heart, and fear no colours. The Prince her Son would have

have gone with her to *Orvieto*, but she would not let him: as esteeming it more seasonable to stay at *Rome*, and see how things went. Thus continued she her Journey, and the Prince returned, receiving at his entry into the Town, an affront from some Boys that ran about his Coach, and sung Songs and Libels upon his Mother. It was therefore found good prudence that *Donna Olimpia* had conveyed herself so privately out of Town, to escape those Insolencies upon her own person.

The Town talked very much upon the commanding this Lady away. Every one spoke to her disadvantage with a concerned bitterness. Her Relations, though Princes, durst not almost stir abroad for three or four days, to avoid the clamours and invectives of the people.

The same day that *Donna Olimpia* quitted *Rome*, the Pope ordered to begin to take the Examination of Witnesses for drawing up the Process. He likewise

likewise resolved to speak to the Consistory of Cardinals, that they would refer all to his Prudence and Justice.

In the mean time Prince *Pansilio* had Audience of him, where amongst other things he told him, that if every Pope should undertake to correct the presupposed Faults of the Relations of his Predecessour, it would make a Noise in the Church not a little scandalous: for the Hereticks would charge all the Blame upon the Popes themselves, without whose concurrence, his Relations would have been able to have done little. The Pope did not like this Discourse, but told the Prince, *The Hereticks are scandalized to see Faults go unpunished; and not to see them corrected: and it is but fitting that they should give accompt to the Pope, who is to be responsible to God.* And so he dismissed him.

The Politicians taxed the Prince very much of Weakness and Indiscretion, that he would entertain with such

such Discourse a Pope, who had intimated so great an aversion to his own Kindred, as to swear he would never suffer any of them to be admitted into *Rome*, or to any Command whatever though his Predecessours had always done it.

The Examinations all this while went on for accomplishing the Process, which they thought would never come to an end, so many several Charges and Impeachments coming daily one upon the neck of another. Therefore the Pope appointed that *Danna Olimpia* should first give an account of what was already brought before him. For which purpose his Holiness sent a Commissary to her Ladyship; to give her notice, that she was to answer distinctly to these following particulars.

I. To give an Accompt of all the Money taken out of the Datary, without any occasion of the Church requiring it: forcing the Officers with Necessities

paces to comply with her insatiable desires and avarice.

2. That she should clear her self of what was laid to her Charge, of having sold multitudes of Benefices: and that upon pain of Excommunication, she should confess to the Pope all the *Simonies* that were committed in her time.

3. That she would refund all those several sums of Money she had received in Composition of those that had Suits at Law, throughout the whole state of the Church.

4. That she would give accompt what was become of the Revenues of so many vacant Benefices, which the Stewards confessed to have payed in to her.

5. To shew where the Salaries of so many Officers were, which were proved to have been carryed to her House.

6. She was to give accompt for all the Corn she had made be carried out the State to other places, where she ordered.

O

7. The

7. She was to pay back again all the superfluous Expences she had been the cause of.

8. To count for so many Taxes, Imposts and Gabels, as were laid upon the people, to their great oppression, by her instigation: since the Officers that gathered them, confessed they had payed all in to her.

9. She should be obliged immediately to restore all the Jewels she had taken out of the several Treasuries, as well of Churches, as the Popes.

10. And last of all, she was charged by more than a hundred Witnesses, to have received over and above the ordinary Revenue, two Millions and an half of Gold Ducats, for which no account had been given: and therefore his Holiness was resolved she should make it good. This News was hardly so unwelcome to *Donna Olimpia*, as it was to her Relations, who expected to be her Heirs: so that they went buzzing about like so many Bees, to justify the

the Innocence of *Donna Olimpia*. The Lady drew up a formal Writing, to make it appear that she had not Interested her self in the Government, and that whatever came to her hands, she delivered it up to the Pope, who ordered it, and laid it out where there was occasion, as other Popes used to do before him.

But these excuses were too weak to ballance so many Proofs as were made out against her. So that it was verily believed, what was whispered about Town, that the Pope was resolved to Sequester her Estate, and imprison her Person. It is true, this was but the rumour of the people: but assuredly, the Pope intended to have made her give accompt for every particular.

While Affairs went on in this manner, the dreadfull Visitation of the Plague, fell upon *Rome*: so that most of the Courts being shut up, common Justice was ecclipsed by the great Judgment, Trade left off, Commerce

among themselves suspended, and the Pope wholly taken up to save as many as he could, to give order for the Sick and the Dead; gave a stop to the Procession and time to those who were concerned to devise a way for *Donna Olimpia*'s delivery.

But if the hand of Man, or rather the Popes, was kept from punishing *Donna Olimpia* for a season: yet Heaven, that watches while Mortals are asleep, could not but waken the divine Vengeance against so guilty a creature. The Scourge of the Plague visited many in *Orvieto*, and amongst the first that died under the execution of that Judgment, was this Lady; who surely by her practices, thought her self immortal.

Thus died *Donna Olimpia* of the Plague in Year 1656. at *Orvieto*, some few Months after her persecution. Her Corps lay above ground two days, having but few Servants with her, that were all dead before. So that her Body

body was left to the mercy of the Searchers, who were more solicitous about her Jewels, than her Carcass, which was in a manner exposed to be eaten by Dogs and Cats. She died without a Confessor; which was looked upon as a Judgment upon her, who had so highly affronted and oppressed the Clergy. Her Name was buried in Oblivion for some time, while the Contagion stopped the peoples mouths: and this Lady, who made so much Noise during her Life, had not a Mourner to bewail her Death. Though no doubt had she died at any other time, she should have had all the honour of the Church, with a solemn Funeral: but in the meantime the *Piazza's* would have been filled with *Satyr's* and *Pasquils*: For the *Romans* neither spare living nor dead.

It was thought she left more than two Millions of Crowns in ready Money, besides Land and Moveables inestimable, and what she had already bestowed upon her Kindred. The

Prince her Son was Heir to her Palace in the *Piazza Navona* : which is the fairest in *Rome* , and where she had her richest Goods. Indeed , except some few Legacies to her Kindred and certain Churches , which in all amounted not to above three hundred thousand Crowns ; all the rest fell to the Prince who took up his Habitation in the *Piazza Navona*.

After her Death there was nothing more done : though it was expected the Pope would have come upon her Heirs. But the truth is , by this time the Pope was become like other men by having changed his resolutions. For he called all his Relations up to *Rome* , which sight so melted his Heart, that he could not but think of enriching them. To which end it is believed, he drew a Million out of *Donna Olimpia's* Estate which, without regarding the Church the good *Alexander* distributed amongst his Kindred : and so fell that Persecution in secret, which was commenced

alacenced in publick. Cardinal *Sforza*,  
thecording to his wonted freedom, told  
l he Friend of his, that *Donna Olimpia's*  
Comoney was passed *from one Thief to an-*  
cerber. And thus went *Donna Olimpia*  
nte off the Stage.

Thus conclude I her Story: least  
with two long a Discourse of the Dead,  
thould importune the patience of the  
iving.

And thus, gentle Reader, be con-  
tent to have read that, which I have  
been fatisfied to take the pains to write.

---

F I N I S.

---

ENGLISH BOOKS

1641 - 1700

Wing

L1573A      A letter of many ministers.  
For Thomas Vnderhill, 1643. 4<sup>o</sup>.

MH

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Mich.

A LETTER OF  
MANY MINISTERS  
IN OLD 1637.  
ENGLAND,

Requesting  
The judgement of their Reverend  
Brethren in *New England* con-  
cerning Nine Positions.

*Written Anno Dom. 1637.*

Together with their Answer thereunto returned,  
*Anno 1639.*

And the Reply made unto the said Answer, and sent over  
unto them, *Anno 1640.*

Now published (by occasion mentioned in the Epistle to  
the Reader, following in the next page,) upon the desire of many  
godly and faithfull Ministers in and about the City  
of *London*, who love and seeke  
the truth.

By *Simeon Ash*, and *William Rathband*.

1 Thes. 5. 21.  
*Prove all things; Hold fast that which is good.*

LONDON,  
Printed for *Thomas Underhill*, at the signe of the Bible in  
great Woodstreet. 1643.



**I** Have diligently perused this Reply to the Answer, of the Ministers of New-England, to the nine Positions which I have approved, and judge very necessarie, and seasonable to bee Printed, and published, Iuly the fifth, 1643.

James Cranford Rector of Christophers London.



*Errata.*

**P**Age 21 Marg. read *Rome*. p. 33 line 17 *r. Society*. p. 37. l. 21. *r. Of all true Churches*. p. 37. l. 31. *r. parium*. p. 47. l. 41 *r. faith*. p. 48. l. 30. *r. quin*. p. 50. l. 31 *r. Ordinance*. The fault escaped in the quotation p. 51. in some Copies, the reader is desired to correct by *Bezi de Presb*. p. 57 l. 7. *r. is the same*. p. 61 l. 25. *r. Objection*. p. 61. l. 28. *r. were dispensed*. p. 64 l. 4 *r. which without*. p. 67. l. 14. *r. parium*. p. 67 l. 29 *r. therefore to them*. p. 69. l. 28. *r. with Christ*.



## To the Reader.

*Good Reader,*



Pon the receipt of the Answer returned unto the Nine Positions, Master *Ball* moved by the request of Brethren, drew up this reply, which upon perusall and joynt approbation, was directed unto the reverend Elders of the severall Churches in *New England*. The Reply sent miscarrying in the hand, to which it was committed, though both Letters and printed Bookes trusted in the same hand were delivered: Hereupon another Copie was from *New England* desired, and accordingly prepared in the yeare following. In the meane time, the Answer being rendered to the Presse, it was judged more meete to keepe the Reply in readinesse to attend the publishing of the Answer, then to part with it in the other way. This intelligence was the last yeare conveyed into *New England*, since which time, there hath been an expectation to see that in Print, which now is sent abroad to open view. By this Relation it is manifest who are voluntiers, and who are pressed to come forth as defendants in these Controversies. These differences betwixt the loving Brethren of old *England* and New, had not been made thus notorious, if some who cry up the Church way in *New England*, as the only way of God, had not been forward, to blow them abroad in the world. But surely the providence of God is remarkeable in bringing these questions into debate at this time. When the Ministers of the Gospell from all the Counties in the Kingdome are called together by both houses of Parliament, to consult about the healing of our breaches, which are very many and dangerous: The Copie of this Reply being committed to our custodie we are necessitated to appeare in the publication of it: yet we shall preface nothing concerning the Treatise it selfe, because our known respects to the reverend and judicious Author will render us partiall, and our testimony can adde no credit to his works, which withall indifferent Readers will plead sufficiently for their own acceptance. If this discourse shall adde any discovery of light unto them, who desire a sound judgement in the controversies here agitated, our end is obtained, and our prayers answered, who are.


*Thy Servants in and for the truth,*

Simeon Ash,

William Rathband.

The Letter of those Ministers in England, who requested to know the judgement of their Brethren in New England, in Nine positions, wherein the reasons of this their request, are truly reported.

(Reverend and beloved Brethren)

 Hiles we lived together in the same Kingdom, we professed the same faith, joyned in the same Ordinances, laboured in the worke of God to gaine soules unto his kingdome, and maintained the puritie of worship against corruptions, both on the right hand and on the left. But since your departure into New England, we heare (and partly beleve it) that divers have embraced certaine vain opinions, such as you disliked formerly, and we judge to be groundlesse and unwarrantable. As that a stinted forme of prayer and set Liturgie is unlawfull; That it is not lawfull to joyne in prayer, or to receive the Sacrament, where a stinted Liturgie is used. 3. That the children of godly and approved Christians, are not to be Baptized, untill their parents bee set members of some perticular congregation. 4. that the Parents themselves, though of approved piety are not to be received to the Lords Supper, untill they bee admitted as set members. 5. That the power of Excommunication, &c. is so in the body of the Church, that what the major part shall allow, that must be done, though the Pastors and Governors, and part of the assembly be of another minde, and peradventure, upon more substantiall reasons. 6. That none are to be admitted as set members, but they must promise, not to depart, or remove unlesse the Congregation will give leave. 7. That a Minister is so a Minister to a particular Congregation, that if they dislike him unjustly, or leave him, he ceaseth to be a Minister. 8. That a Minister cannot performe any ministeriall act in another Congregation. 9. That members of one Congregation may not communicate in another.

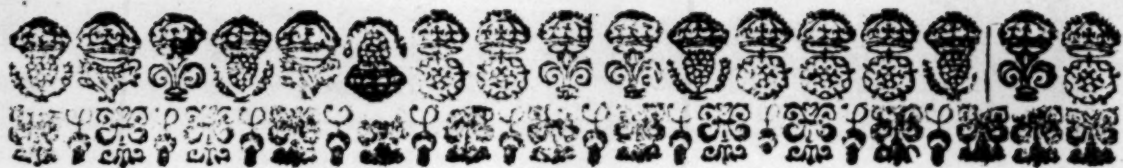
These and other such like (which we omit to reckon up) are written and reported to be the common Tenents in New England, which are received with great applause, maintained with great confidence, and applauded, as the only Church way, wherein the Lord is to be worshipped. And letters from New England have so taken with divers in many parts of this Kingdome, that they have left our Assemblies because of a stinted Liturgie, and excommunicated themselves from the Lords Supper, because such as are not debarred from it. And being turned aside themselves, they labour to ensnare others, to the grieve of the godly, the scandall of Religion, the wounding of their owne soules (if they did advisedly consider the matter) and great advantage of them, that are wily to espy, and ready to make use of all advantages to prejudice the truth. (Beloved brethren) if you stood in our places, we are well assured it would be no small grieve unto you, to be we and see the people led aside to the disgrace of the Gospell, upon weake and groundlesse imaginations, and in rash and inconsiderate zeale to deale with that which is of God, as if it were of man. And if it be to us grieve of heart to heare that you have changed from

A Letter of these Ministers in England &c.

from that truth which you did professe, and embrace that for truth which in former times upon sound grounds you did condemne as erroneous, we hope you will not be offended. You know how oft it hath beene objected, that Non-conformists in practice are Separatists in heart. but that they goe crosse to their own positions, or smother the truth for sinister ends. They of the Separation boast that they stand upon the Non-conformists grounds. A vainglorious flourish and sleight pretence. But both these are much countenanced by your sudden change if you be changed, as it is reported. How shall your brethren bee able to stand up in the defence of their innocencie and the uprightnesse of their cause, when your example and opinion shall be cast in their dish? Must they leave you now, with whom they have held society? Or will you plead for Separation, which you have condemned as rash and inconsiderate? You know that they who have run this way have fallen into manifold divisions, and may not you justly feare, lest the same befall you? Some warnings you have had already, and have you not cause to feare every day more and more? Error is very fruitfull and will spread apace. A cracke in the foundation may occasion a wide breach in the building, where there will not be means, or mind to amend it. Experience every day may tutour us herein. But to let passe all inconveniences, our request in all meeknesse and love is, that if these, or any of the forementioned opinions be indeed your Tenants you would be pleased to take a second review of your grounds, and send us your strongest reasons that have swayed you in these matters: and if we shall find them upon due examination to be such as will carry weight, we shall be ready to give you the right hand of fellowship; if otherwise you shall receive our just and modest animadversions in what we conceive you have erred from the truth. You will not judge, if we cannot apprehend the strength of your grounds, it is because we love not the truth, or bee carryed with by-respects (though these conceits prevaile too much: ) Such rigid and harsh censures, cannot lodge in meeke and humble breasts. Weighty reasons promote the truth not unadvised judging. You your selves have judged that to be error, which now you take to be truth when yet you were not blinded with by-respects, nor hudwinked your eyes, that you might not see the light. And if you have just warrant from God to pull downe what you have builded, and to build what you have pulled downe, we desire you would lovingly and maturely impart it, for as yet we have scene none, which we are not ready to prove, and shew by the rule of truth to be too weake to carry any burthen.

We adore with you the fulnesse of the Scripture, and we know the Counsell of the Lord shall stand: if you can shew that you walke in the wayes of God, we shall heartily rejoyce to walke with you: but if you have turned aside, we shall earnestly desire that you would be pleased seriously to consider the matter, and speedily reforme, what is out of order. Thus not doubting of your favourable interpretation of this our motion, for the preventing of distraction, maintenance of peace, and searching out of the truth, whereby we may be directed to live to the praise of God the good of his people, and comfort of our soules, beseeching God to lead and guide us into all truth and holinesse, and keepe us blamelesse untill his glorious appearance, we rest

Your loving Brethren.



An Epistle written by the Elders of the Churches in N E W-  
ENGLAND, to those godly Ministers fore-mentioned  
that sent over the Positions.

*Reverend and beloved Brethren :*

**I**N these remote Coasts of the earth, whereunto the good hand of God hath brought us, as we doe with much comfort of heart call to mind the many gracious blessings, which both with you, and from you, we enjoyed in our Christian and holy communion, (the memory and fruit whereof we hope shall never be blotted out) so we have also seen cause to looke back to our former administrations there, and to search and trie our wayes; that wherein soever we have formerly gone astray, we might judge our selves for it before the Lord: And that seeing now God hath set before us an open doore of libertie, wee might neither abuse our libertie in the Gospel, to runne out into any groundlesse unwarrantable courses, nor neglect the present opportunitie to administer (by the helpe of Christ) all the holy ordinances of God, according to the patterne set before us in the Scripture; In our native Countrey, when we were first called to the Ministry, many of us tooke some things to be indifferent and lawfull, which in after-times we saw to be sinfull, and durst not continue in the practise of them there; Afterwards some things that we bare as burthens, that is, as things inexpedient, though not utterly unlawfull; we have no cause to retain and practise the same things here, which would not have been not onely inexpedient, but unlawfull: such things as a man may tolerate when he cannot remove them, hee cannot tolerate without sinne, when he may remove them; Besides some things we practised there (which wee speak to our shame and grieve) which we never took into serious consideration whether they were lawfull, and expedient or no, but took them for granted, and generally received; not onely by the most Reformed Churches, but by the most godly and judicious servants of God amongst them; which nevertheless when we came to weigh them in the ballance of the Sanctuary, we could not find sufficient warrant in the Word to receive them, and establish them here: of one of these three kinds will these our present practises appeare to be, which you call our new opinions, or, Innovations here; except it be some few of them, which though they have been reported to you to be our Judgements and practises, yet are indeed farre from

us:

*The Epistle.*

us : The particulars are too many, and too weightie to give you account of them, and the ground of our proceedings about them in a Letter. But to give you ( if it be the will of God ) the better satisfaction, we have sent you a short Treatise touching each particular, that according to your desire you might understand from us how farre we do acknowledge any of these tenents, and upon what ground, hoping that according to your promise, if upon due examination you shall find any weight in them, you will give us the right hand of fellowship. But if otherwise, you will send us your just and faithfull animadversions, and we doe not suspect your loves to the truth, or your sincere speaking according to your conscience in the sight of God. Neither taxe we you as siding from the truth with by-respects, whereof you complain, verily we abhorre such rash, harsh, and presumptuous notoriousnesse, we see as much cause to suspect the integritie of our own hearts, as yours ; and so much the more, as being more privie to the deceitfulnesse of our own hearts then to yours. And we cannot but with much thankfulness of heart acknowledge the many rich precious treasures of his grace, wherewith the Lord hath furnished sundrie of you above your Brethren, which causeth us with great reverence to accept, and receive what farther light God may be pleased to impart unto us by you ; But as we have beleevd, so have we hitherto practised, and so have most of us spoken this our Answer to your particulars, most of us we may say, because there wants not some Brethren amongst us who proceed further, even to looke at all set formes of Prayer invented by men of another age or congregation, and prescribed to their Brethren to be read out of a book for the prayers of the Church, as Images, or Imaginations of men, forbidden in the second Commandement ; But as we leave them to their libertie of their own judgements without prejudice, so do we also concurre with the rest of them, so farre as we all goe in bearing witness against any set formes, or the corruptions in them ; In dispatching whereof, we have been the more slow because it behoved us first to inquire into, and to settle some controversies amongst our selves, before we could well attend to entertaine discourse about forraigne questions which do not so neerely concerne our present estate and practise. Besides your Letters being sent to the Ministers of the Churches, and some of us dwelling farre asunder, it was not an easie thing for all of us often to meet together to consider of these Questions, much lesse to resolve upon one just answer. But having at length ( by the assistance of God ) brought our Answers to this issue, we commend it to the blessing of the Lord, and in him to your Christian, and judicious consideration ; where if all things bee found safe, and duly warranted from Scripture grounds ; do you also as seemeth vigilant Watchmen of the Lords flock, and faithfull witnesses to God ; If any thing seeme doubtfull to you, consider and weigh it very well before you reject it : If any thing appeare to be unsound, and dissonant from the Word ( which we for our parts cannot discern ) we shall willingly attend

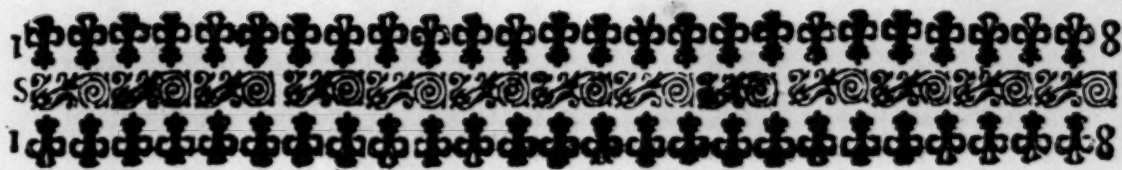
*The Epistle.*

to what further light God may send unto us by you: In the meane while wee intreat you in the Lord, not to suffer such apprehensions to lodge in your minds, which you intimate in your Letters; As if we here justified the wayes of rigid separation, which sometimes amongst you we have formerly borne witness against: and so build againe the things we have destroyed; you know they separate from your Congregations, as no Churches; from the Ordinances dispensed by you as meere Antichristian, and from your selves as no visible Christians. But wee professe unfainedly, we separate from the corruptions which we conceive to be left in your Churches, and from such Ordinances administered therein as we feare are not of God but of men; And for your selves, we are so farre from separating as from no visible Christians, as that you are under God in our hearts (if the Lord would suffer it) to live and die together; and we looke at sundrie of you as men of that eminent growth in Christianitie, that if there be any visible Christians under heaven, amongst you are the men, which for these many yeeres have been written in your foreheads (*Holinesse to the Lord*) which we speake not to prejudice any truth which our selves are here taught and called to professe, but we still beleeeve though personall Christians may be eminent in their growth of Christianitie: yet Churches had still need to grow from apparent defects to puritie; and from reformation to Reformation, age after age, till the Lord have utterly abolished Antichrist with the breath of his mouth, and the brightnesse of his comming, to the full and cleare revelation of all his holy Truth; especially touching the ordering of his house and publick worship; as a pledge of this our estimation of you, and sincere affection to you, we have sent you these Answers to your demand, and shall be readie, by the help of Christ, to receive back againe from you, wise, and just, and holy Advertisements in the Lord.

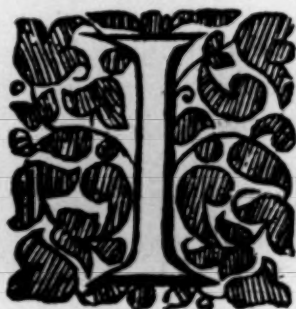
Now the Lord God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, your Lord and ours; lead us all unto all Truths, purge out all Leaven out of his Churches, and keepe us blamelesse and harmlesse in his holy Faith and feare, to his heavenly kingdome, through him that hath loved us; In whom we rest,

*Your very loving Brethren, the Elders  
of the Churches in New-England.*

*Reverend*



Reverend and dearely beloved Brethren,



It is not to be doubted but while we live here, we shall have just cause to search and try our ways, look back upon former courses, and call things done to more strict examination. For being over-clouded with ignorance, compassed about with infirmities, and beset with many temptations to sinne, knowing what we know best, but darkly and in part, no marvell, if in many things we offend ignorantly, of frailty

for want of due consideration, rashly mistaking Error for Truth, condemning Truth for Error, suspecting evill without cause, and not suspecting where is just reason, drawing erroneous conclusions from sound principles, and maintaining truths upon weak grounds; so that in examination of our wayes, and endeavours of their Reformation wee had need to looke warily, that wee turn not to the right hand or to the left, for in the one we add to the Word of God, as well as in the other, and of our selves are apt to strike aside to both. A loose conscience will be profane, a tender, scrupulous. It stands us therefore upon to have our selves in suspicion, in as much as experience teacheth that many have swerved from the path of sound peace and comfort on each hand.

Wherefore (*Beloved Brethren*) if since your comming into *New England*, upon serious Review of former actions you have discovered any truths heretofore not taken notice of, we shal be so far from rejecting them because of your former judgment and practice, that we shall heartily desire to know and imbrace the same with you, and blesse God for you as the happy instruments of his glory, our Instruction & the advancement of the truth. But if the discoveries be of the like nature with the positions mentioned in the Letter; as before, so still, we conceive them to be new opinions, and not warranted by Scripture, which is the true Antiquity.

Opinions we say, not practices, for not changing your opinion, you might lawfully alter your practice; nay, what you did tolerate formerly as a burthen, in case

It is truly observed by M<sup>ast</sup>.r Davenport out of Ambros. Offic. l. i. c. i Et quantumlibet quisque profecerit, nemo est qui doceri non indigeat dum vivit. Appoll. Preface to the Reader.

not free, you might well forgoe being at your liberty. Your judgement being the same, you might use your liberty in forbearance of a set Liturgie, and yet retaine the same judgement of a stinted Liturgie, that you had before; you might forbear for a time upon speciall Reason (such as present state and occasion might suggest) to receive to the Sacrament approved Christians, not set members of a particular Congregation; as some Brethren do) who yet dare not think it unlawfull to communicate with such in the act of worship, or deem it just and right altogether to debar them, as having no right nor title to those priviledges of the Church. It is your opinions whereto we had respect, not simply your practise. It never entered into us to perswade you to a set Liturgy, much lesse to complain that you had not accepted ours. But that all stinted Liturgies should be condemned as devised worship, and so condemned as that none may lawfully be present at, or partake of the Sacraments administred in a stinted or devised forme, this wee called a new opinion.

Neither do we mention it because we knew it to be the private opinion of some Brethren among you, whom we had left to the liberty of their owne judgment, so far as the maintenance of the Truth, and a just call did not ingage us: but because it was cryed up, and advanced with all diligence, and endeavour of some among us standing affected *New England*-ward, as if a chief point of holinesse consisted in separation. You know how great a fire a little sparkle kindles. And seeing this Distraction and Rent had its originall, growth and continuance from some Brethren in those parts, or affected to that way, when in loving and friendly manner we could neither receive grounds at home for our conviction, nor procure just satisfaction to the contrary; what could wee doe lesse then call upon you joyntly to know your judgment, and either by sound proof to be by you convinced (if happily you should approve their separation (which we esteem groundlesse, rash, unlawfull, and prejudiciall to outward peace) or being backed by a testimony of its dislike from you, we might the better be both encouraged, and furnished to endeavour the quenching of that fire which was kindled but in too many places,

In other perticulars also, wee conceive, you goe beyond Commission given of God: granting them authority to whom God hath not committed it, debarring others from the priviledge of the Sacraments, who have title thereto by the Covenant of grace.

Your love in that you were pleased to signifie first your kinde and respective acceptance of our Letter, and now also to send us an answer thereto, we acknowledge it with all thankfulnesse, and shall endeavour (through the grace of God) to return like affection in truth of heart, if in measure we fall short. Of your respect to us in particular, we make no question, your expressions are beyond that we could expect, as also what we dare own. But we humbly beseech the Lord to direct, uphold, and guide

guide us, that in some measure we may walk worthy of our vocation, and approve our selves faithfull to your consciences.

It was one end of our writing to be satisfied in this point, whether you approve the ways of Separation (whereof wee complain) and their courses who laboured with all their might, (when they conceived hope to be heard) to perswade therunto. Against which (if we knew your judgment) you testified among us.

You know they that separate are not all of one straine and temper. Some deny all communion with us publick and private, some admit of private, but deny all publick, and some joyne in Prayer before, and after Sermon, as also preaching of the Word (because in their esteeme, this may be done without communion in a Church-way) but refuse to partake of the Sacraments. All which Separations wee judge uncharitable, contrary to the Commandement of Christ, and have ever thought that you (whilst with us) and we were of one minde herein.

If of late we have conceived fears of some of you (deere Brethren) as leaning too much to what formerly you disliked, we beseech you weigh what urgent and pressing Reasons forced us thereunto, and we shall most gladly (wee heartily desire you to rest assured) lay hold of every line and syllable, that may tend to dislodge such apprehensions.

For as we conceive, the dispute to be unreasonably moved, the Rent offensive, the opinions themselves prejudiciall to the cause of God, and the advancers thereof to have passed the limits prescribed by God; so wee shall esteeme it an inestimable blessing, if (now what hinders being removed) wee might joyn with one heart and soule, in one way of God to promote his glory, and seek the good of his Church and people.

We trust in the Lord, we should not draw back in any course wherein wee may see the Lord going before us, nor be an offence to any to keep the Lords way; wee seek the truth, and are perswaded it is the cause of God which we defend: we plead for Communion with the Churches of Christ, no further then they hold communion with Christ, still desiring *to keepe the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, with your selves and all others*, who walke in the right way of truth, peace and comfort.

How the Lord may be pleased to deale with us, or dispose of us wee know not (his blessed will be done.) But of this we are resolved, through his grace, not willingly to raise trouble or dissention among you, if through ignorance or infirmity we shall not so fall in, as to be of one minde with you in these matters. And here we desire you to consider that in these particulars you dissent as much one from another as we dissent from you, and that wherein we dissent from you (and perhaps from the lesser part of you) you dissent from the judgement and practice of all Reformed Churches.

This

Wee not these men (saith *Cann* against *Robt*) superstitiously addicted to their new devise, that beware how to reject the unanimous judgment and practice of all learned men and true Churches. Stay against straying. pag. 47.

I am and shall be always ready to give all due respect to those good customes of Churches, which are taken upon good warrant and ground, and long continued among Gods people. *I.D. Apol* p. 31.

Good customes taken up by the Churches upon good grounds should not lightly be broken or laid downe, wherein I doe fully agree with the Authour of that elaborate Commentary upon the fourth Chapter of *Iohn*, *I.D. Apol* Sect. 12. *Examina*. p. 151.

consider the grounds whereupon we, go and weigh what wee shall say in the balance of the Sanctuary. The Lord of his rich mercy in Jesus Christ, direct us in discerning what is right and pleasing in his sight, Cast offences out of the Church, close up Rents and Divisions, reveal his Truth more and more, set up and mayntain the purity of his own Ordinances, unite the hearts of his people to the love and feare of his holy Name, teach us self-deniall, and keep us blamelesse to the comming of the

Lord Jesus Christ.

*Amen.*

This wee speake not to prejudice your cause, but to intreat your serious re-examination of what you have sent us, and this tryall thereof, by the Touchstone of the Word. For if we mistake not, in many things it will not abide the Test.

You have written in great love and tenderneffe, that your Positions might be so scanned, and wee shall endeavour with such affection to try all things, and hold fast that which is good. And now (beseeching the guidance of the Spirit) with your leave, wee shall endeavour to deale fully and plainly, as the nature of the cause requireth, intreating you impartially to

## I POSITION.

*That a stinted forme of Prayer and set Liturgie is unlawfull.*

*Answ.*



Efore we proceed to declare our selves concerning this position: It will be needfull that some thing be premised, for the explication of the terms thereof. We suppose,

1 By a Liturgy and forme of Prayer, you mean not a forme of private Prayers composed for the helpe and direction of weaker Christians: but the *System* or body of publike Prayers generally used in the English Parishes, compiled for the Churches use by other men not infallibly guided by God, to be said or read out of a Book by their Ministers as the Churches Prayers. And that this is your meaning, may appeare from your Letter it self, wherein you complain that divers in many parts of that Kingdome have left their Assemblies, because of a stinted Liturgy. Now we know not of any other stinted Liturgy from which the people do absent themselves, but onely that which is in use in the English Churches.

For as for a forme of Prayer in generall, wee conceive your meaning cannot be of that. For it is evident that many Preachers constantly use one set form of Prayer of their own making before their Sermons, with whom the people refuse not to joyn.

2 By stinted and set, you mean such Prayers, as are so imposed upon the Churches and Ministers, as that they are limited to that very form of words expressed in the Book without addition, diminution, or alteration; for that Liturgy and forme among you, is in this sense set and stinted.

3 By unlawfull, you mean that we looking at that form, as swerving from the Rule; neither dare first practice it our selves, nor secondly approve the use of it by others.

This being the true state of the question, so far as it appears to us, from the letter. We answer, 1 For our own practice, the Churches here doe not use any stinted forme of Prayer and set Liturgy, for these and other such Reasons. 1 Because we finde no necessity of any stinted Liturgy to be used among us, by vertue of any divine precept. And seeing the Commission of the Apostles limited them, to teach men to observe and do onely what Christ did command them in matters of this nature, *Math. 28. 20.* Who are we and what are our Churches, that we should presume above this Commission? And, we hope, it will not be offensively taken by any godly Brethren, That we stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free in this, as well as in all other things.

Secondly, because the lawfulnessse of set forms and stinted Liturgies is questioned and doubted of by many faithfull servants of God: whereas for Church-officers to

edifie the Churches by their own gifts, as well in praying as in preaching, all sorts without controversie grant it to be lawfull. Now spirituall prudence guideth believers, when two ways are set before them, one doubtfull though ventured on by some, the other certainly safe and good, though neglected by many, to choose that which is safe, declining the other.

Thirdly, Because Primitive paterns of all the Churches of God in their best times (when as touching this point they kept the rule in their eye) whether Jewish before Christ, or Christian above a 100 years after Christ, yield not the least footstep to shew us another safe way to walk in, then this w<sup>ch</sup> we have chosen. As for after times towards the end of the second, and beginning of the third Century, we know how far the Churches were then degenerated and declined from the first purity; neither do we marvell at it, seeing in the Apostles time the mystery of iniquity began to work, and it was then foretold, that the power of godlinesse would be in after times exchanged for empty formes. In which respect, we look not at them as our guides neither in this, nor other particulars not warranted by the Rule, herein following the advise of Cyprian, who himself saw the corruption of those times, *Non est attendendum quid aliquis ante nos faciendum putaverit, sed quid qui ante omnes est Christus fecerit & faciendum p. acceperit.*

To conclude, seeing our Christian liberty freeth us from binding our selves to any religious observances, whereunto the written word doth not bind us. And seeing spirituall prudence directs us to choose those ways, which on all hands are confessed to be safe, voiding those that be doubtfull and hazardous. And seeing it will not be safe for us, needlessly to swerve from the constant practice of all Churches that are recorded in Scripture, and there held forth as a cloud of Witnesses for us to follow in matters of this nature, wee therefore may not, doe not, dare not use set forms of Prayers and stinted Liturgies in these Churches.

More particularly, in that we doe not use that forme of Prayer and stinted Liturgy, which is in use among your selves: these and such other like Reasons have induced us thereunto. 1 The many and just exceptions whereunto that Liturgy is lyable both for matter and manner; for the prooffe whereof wee referre you to those faithfull servants of God, who have gone before us in witnessing against the same: Amongst others to Master *Cartwright*, and the *Abridgment*.

2. In as much as that Liturgy was never commanded of God, and hath been greatly abused to Idolatry and Superstition, and is not of any necessary use, and therefore we are affraid to bring it into the Worship of God, as knowing the jealousy of the Lord, in matters of this nature; *Exod. 20.* and how strictly hee commandeth his people, that all monuments and remnants of Idolatry and Superstition should be abolished from among them, *Deut. 5. 25, 26. Exod. 23. 13. Esay 30. 22. 2 Cor. 6. 17.* In which respect the holy Ghost hath greatly commended *Jacob, David, Iehu, Hezekiah and Iosiah* for taking away the remembrance of such things,

Gen. 35. 2. 4. Psal. 16. 4. 2 King 10. 26, 27. & 18. 4 & 21. all the Chapter. And where other Kings of *Judah* came short of the like zeale, the Scripture notes it as a blemish in them that the high places were not taken away, albeit the people did not sacrifice in them to false gods, but onely to the Lord, 2 *Chron.* 15. 17. & 20. 33. & 33. 17. Yea, moreover, it appeareth by the Scripture, that somethings that had a good Originall and use (if they be not still necessary and commanded of God) are unlawfull when once they are knowne to be defiled by Idolatry, and abused to it, 2 *King.* 18. 4. *Hos.* 2. 16, 17. As the brazen Serpent was at the first an Institution though but temporary: but when the children of *Israel* burned Incense to it, *Hezekiah*, is commended for breaking it in pieces, and the Lord witnesseth of him that he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, and according to his Commandement, which he commanded *Moses*, 2 *King.* 18. 3, 6. how much more in the like case ought other things to be removed, which never were commanded of God, but onely were devised by men? And that that Liturgy hath been superstitiously abused, may be cleer to any that shall consider that it is the same for substance that was used in the days of Popery. And therefore when the Papists in *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, had made a Commotion and Rebellion upon the change of Religion, in the days of King *Edward* the Sixth. It was told them by the King, for the pacifying of them: That it was the self-same Service in English, which had been before in Latine: and if the Service of the Church was good in Latine, it remayneth good in English, for nothing is altered: Fox *Acts and Monuments*, *Edward* 6. And Pope *Pius* the fifth did see so little variation in it from the Latine Service, that had been formerly used in that Kingdome, that he would have ratified it by his authority, if *Q. Elizabeth* would have so received it. And many of the people put such holinesse in it, that they think God is not rightly worshipped, nor his Sabbath well observed, nor the Sacraments sufficiently administred, if there be no reading of that Service. And others put such holinesse and necessity in it, that they preferre it before Gods holy Ordinance of preaching the Word. In so much as the Ministers are in the danger of being called in question, and of being censured, if they doe not read that Liturgy every Lords day without omitting any part thereof, either in respect of preaching or otherwise.

This Argument is used by the Abridgment against conformity to the Ceremonies, and we do not see but it is as strong against this Liturgy.

3 In regard of the many wofull scandals, and dangerous consequences of using that Liturgie, of which we suppose you are not ignorant.

To mention but two, *Viz.* The hardning of Papists who are imboldned to think better of their own Breviaries, Masse-Books, Portuisses. seeing that Liturgie hath bin extracted out of those books, and rather fetched from them then from the forms used in any of the reformed Churches.

2 The countenancing and establishing of an unlearned Idol Ministry, of not-Preaching curates, Non-residents, Pluralities, &c. in whose skirts is to be found the

blood of so many mens souls living and dying in their sins, while they ignorantly content themselves with, and harden themselves in some empty forms of Religion and blinde devotion, which are begotten and cherished chiefly by such prayers and ministers. Neither is there lesse scandall hereby (we meane not onely taken but given) then by the eating of an Idolathite, in the Idols Temple condemned by the Apostle *1 Cor. 8. 7 10.* For if the eating of an Idolathite by him that had knowledge, and knew that an Idol was nothing, and that all meats were lawfull, did imbolden others to honour the Idol, and therefore was a scandall given, so also it is in this case.

4 Seeing that booke is so imposed as that the minister in reading of it, is limited to the very words set downe without any diminution, addition, or alteration; therefore we dare not use it.

For 1 The Lord himselfe hath not limited his people to his own formes and therefore we see not, how it can be lawfull to be limited to other mens formes; For in thus doing we should subject our selves to the exercise of such an authority and power of the Prelates, as in this case puts forth a stronger act of limiting power then Christ himselfe, who doth not limit us to those formes, which himselfe hath set downe in Scripture: For though we acknowledge the Lords prayer and other formes set down in Scripture, may be lawfully used as prayers (due cautions being observed) yet there is not a limitation lying upon the Churches in the use of those prayers. And therefore we do not find that the Apostles ever used that form taught by Christ in those very words, much lesse limited themselves to it, when they prayed, nor did they teach the Churches so to doe.

2 If the Lord would not have us limit our selves in our own forms, whiles we are exercising our own gifts (which he hath specially sanctified to edify his Church *Act. 6. 4. Eph. 4. 8. 1 Cor. 12. 7.*) least we should quench or at least straiten his spirit in prayer, *1 Thes. 5. 19.* would he then have us limited to other mens forms, which have not beene in like sort sanctified of God, but will rather quench or straiten the spirit of God, whiles we are so limited to them?

3 The entertainment of this form hath been a manifest snare unto the Churches who upon the same ground on which they have received this forme into the desks have beene limited to others in the pulpit, by meanes whereof the poore Church of Christ hath bin wholly deprived of the publike use of the Ministers gifts in prayer, and the spirit of prayer in the Ministers in publike, hath beene greatly restrained.

As for our Judgement concerning the practice of others, who use this Liturgie in our native Countrie, we have alwayes beene unwilling to expresse our mindes there against unlesse we have been necessarily called thereunto, and at this time we thinke it not expedient to expresse our selves any further concerning this matter, as loath to intermeddle with the affaires of other Churches, but contenting our selves with, and blessing the Lord for those liberties which we, by the mercie of God, do

here

here enjoy, reserving also due reverence to the judgements of our beloved brethren and deere Countrey men, who may concerning this matter be otherwise minded.

Reply.

**T**His position cannot beare that meaning which you give it, if you take it according to our mindes, and the plain construction of the words. We never questioned why you made not use of a stinted Liturgy, much lesse why you did not wholly and in every part tye your selves unto, and approve of that forme in use amongst us. You might well thinke we had little to doe to put forth such a demand, viz. whether you thinke it lawfull to approve in others and practice your selves, what swerveth from the rule, and we thinke it strange you should give our words such a meaning.

The thing we craved resolution in was, whether in your judgements all stinted and set formes of prayer and Liturgies be unlawfull. The reason hereof was because in writings from *New-England*, we had seene all set liturgies, and set formes of prayer condemned as devised worship which God would not accept, and partaking in the Sacraments of the Supper in our assemblies, therefore disallowed, because administered in a stinted Liturgie, which things were received with such likeing amongst some brethren with us, and by them imparted and recommended to others, that they occasioned that rent and distraction whereof we complain.

It is true, the people among us separate from our forme of prayer or liturgy, but the reason hereof is because it is stinted, not because this or that or ours in particular.

You confesse you want not some brethren among you who look at all set formes of Prayer invented by one of another age or congregation, and prescribed to their brethren, to be read out of a booke for the prayers of the Church, as Images and Imaginations of man forbidden in the second Commandement, and that the lawfulness of Liturgies, and set formes is questioned and doubted of by many faithfull servants of God, such also as come over occasionally, who withdraw themselves from the Sacraments in the congregation, doe it on this pretence, that a stinted Liturgie is a humane invention. And if we examine the reasons brought against stinted formes and Liturgies, we shall finde them to strike at all formes and Liturgies though devised by men of the same age and congregation, and to be used but now and then, or but once on set purpose, and that either in publike or in private, as elsewhere we may have occasion to shew.

You say it is evident, many Preachers constantly use a set forme of Prayer of their own making before their Sermons, with whom the people refuse not to joyne; And you know (we doubt not) that such set formes are disliked also. And if the grounds be examined (in our understanding) they make as much against the one as the other. View but the reasons why you admit not a stinted Liturgie and forme of prayer, and see whether the two last will not in the same terms directly conclude

gainst both. But what ever is to be thought herein, or whether mens practises agree with their opinions we now dispute not. This is plaine and manifest, that mens opinions are to be judged by their expresse words and reasons, not by their practises. The Brownists (as they are commonly called) can separate from no stinced Liturgie amongst us, but that which is in use, and for ought we know they may joyne with their owne Pastors, though they oft use the same forme of prayer in whole or in part, in thanksgiving before mear, or in prayer before Sermon, or the like. And yet their opinion is that all stinced Liturgies and set Formes of prayer be unlawfull, humane inventions forbidden by the second Commandement.

But if any thing had beene left doubtfull in the Letter, that it might be strained to another sence, either because we were short in expression, or many of you not informed in the passages which gave occasion to the question, it is well knowne what the words meane in ordinary construction. And we doubt not but many brethren among you, might and could fully informe you of our meaning that there need no such straining to find it out.

That which followeth in your answer to the position (as you interpret it) wee passe over, because it is not to the matter intended. And wee are as unwilling to trouble you with the affaires of other Churches taking you from your owne weightie occasions, as you are unwilling to be interrupted. Onely in regard of promise, and because plaine dealing serves to maintaine love, we thinke good to advertise you these few things.

1 That your reasons why you accept not of a stinced Lyturgie be ambiguously propounded, for sometimes you plead onely for your libertie herein, and that a stinced forme is not necessary, and sometime you speake so, as they that looke at Stinced Lyturgies, as Images forbidden in the second Commandement will easily draw your words to their meaning.

2 The reasons you bring against a set forme of prayer or Liturgie doe hold as strong against a set forme of Catechisme confession and profession of faith, blessing, baptizing and singing of Psalmes.

3 Wee have not called upon you at this time to witnesse for, or against the corruptions in the Communion-Booke. This you fall upon by straining the sence of our demands contrary to the true meaning thereof.

The reasons which you bring against it, we cannot approve them all; The exceptions which have bin taken both from the matter and manner thereof we know: But to esteeme the whole for some corruptions found therein, a monument of Idolatry, that we have not learned.

The Argument in the abridgement which is used against conformity to the Ceremonies did not in their judgement who were authors of the Booke hold against the Lyturgie, of which opinion we are also.

4 If these reasons be intended onely to shew why you receive not our forme of administration,

administration, it is that which ( we are perswaded you know ) we never required of you. If to disallow the use of the Booke amongst us altogether in things lawfull, good and pertinent, they will not hold weight.

5 You are generally ( as you say ) loath to uneddle with the affaires of other Churches, unlesse you have been necessarily called thereunto. But when some upon the request ( as we suppose ) of private friends, and others out of their zeale and forwardnesse have laboured to draw many to separation from the Sacrament, because ministred in a stinted Lyrurgie: wee cannot apprehend any just ground of this apologie. The Rent is wide, and some brethren had their hands deepe therein, which made us at this present to crave your judgements, and the reasons thereof to make up the breach.

6 *I. D.* objecteth to Master *P.* that his manner of preaching was disorderly in carrying that matter, he speakes of, to the Classes, before he had declared to the Church the equity of his refusing the Ministers desired by the Scriptures. And may not we with like reason object, that this manner of proceeding is disorderly in seeking to draw men to Separation, because of stinted Liturgie, before you had shewed to us or other brethren ( whom it may concerne ) by Scripture, or reasons drawne from thence, that a stinted Liturgie was unlawfull? but of this wee may intreat more fully elsewhere.

Whereas the publisher of this answer to the six Positions, refers the reader to Mr. Cottons answer unto Mr. Ball for satisfaction in this point concerning set formes of prayer. The reader is earnestly intreated to compare Master Balls Treatise, and Mr. Cottons answer with seriousness and indifference, because Mr. Ball having received that answer before the publishing of his Treatise ( being much enlarged, whereof Mr. Cotton was ignorant ) was confident, that with addition of some marginall notes ( which in reference thereto he added ) his Treatise would sufficiently defend it selfe, against all the assaults, which that answer made against it.

## II. POSITION.

*That it is not lawfull to jeyne in prayer, or receive the Sacraments where a stinted Liturgie is used, or as we conceive your meaning to be in this, as in the former question viz. where, and when that stinted Liturgie is used.*

*Answer.*

**I**T seemeth by this your letter, the ground of this Position hath beene the separation of divers from your assemblies, because of a stinted Liturgie: and we are not ignorant of the rigid separation of divers people, who withdraw themselves from an able faithfull ministry, as no ministry of Christ, and from their godly congregations as no Churches of Christ; because of some corruptions from which ( through want of light, not love of the truth ) they are not thoroughly cleansed. Against which practise we have ever witnessed.

As for our Judgement concerning the Position it selfe, we would promise two things;

things; First concerning the persons reading this Liturgie, which may be either an ungodly or unable Minister, or an able and a godly.

Secondly, concerning the Liturgie it selfe, which may be either of the whole or some select prayers, which may be conceived to be the least offensive.

Now if the question be of joyning in prayer with, and when that whole Liturgie is used, or where that which is used, is read by an unable and ungodly Minister, we then see not how it can be lawfull to joyne in prayer in such cases; For

1 The prayers of the Minister are not his private prayers, but the publike prayers of the whole assembly, whose mouth he is to God. And when the prayers offered up by the Minister, as a living holy, and acceptable service to God, are not through humane frailty, but otherwise for matter and manner corrupt, wee see not what warrant any one hath to joyne with such prayers, *Mal. 1. 13. 14.*

2 When men ioyne therein with an insufficient Ministry, they doe not only countenance them in their place and office, whom the Lord hath rejected from being his Preists. *Hos. 4. 6.* but also set up those Idolls and means of worship to edifie themselves by, which God never appointed in his holy word *Ezek. 11. 17.*

But if the question be of joyning in some few select prayers read by an able and painfull Minister out of that booke as on the one side wee are very tender of imputing sin to the men that so joyne: so on the other side, we are not without feare, least that such joyning may be found to be unlawfull: unlesse it may appeare that the Ministers with whom the people have communion in reading those prayers doe neither give any scandall by reading of them nor give unlawfull honour to a thing abused to Idolatry, and superstition, nor doe suffer themselves to be sinfully limited in the reading of them.

### *Reply.*

**S**ufficient hath been spoken of the meaning of the position and the grounds thereof. And if we have not mistaken your judgment & practise both, you have borne witness against both that you call the rigid seperation, and this more moderate also; And we humbly wish, the moderate doe not degenerate into the rigid ere long. It is very strange, if they take not great encouragement upon your grounds. The truth of our ministry, Churches, Ordinances, and calling is questioned, and where men will stay the Lord knoweth, and what more common then that our Liturgie is unlawfull, because it is the devise of man; The Author (or publisher at least) of a letter against our Service booke beginneth with such like distinction.

„ Against this Prayer-booke (saith he) divers have pleaded in a different manner. First some arguments are proper to the Separatists *quales, viz.* that it is „ offered in a false Church; 2. By a false minister; 3. In the behalfe of the subjects „ of the Kingdome of Antichrist. These are properly theirs, being the grounds „ whereupon they make a totall separation from all the Churches in this Land, as „ as Churches of Christ. These I approve not, yet note them that yee may see „ upon

„ upon what different grounds, the same Position is maintained by severall persons, and that yee may be delivered from the prejudice, which hinders many from receiving those truths, because they feare the reproach of Brownisme.

„ Secondly, there are other grounds which are common to all that plead for the puritie of Christs ordinances, and which doe not necessarily inferre such separation, but only serve to shew the unlawfulnessse of that practise, and our communicating therein.

Thus the Epistle wherein the same distinction of separation is noted: but how truly, let the indifferent judge. If none must be counted Separatists, but such as have pleaded against the booke of Common prayer as unlawfull, because offered up in a false Church, &c. then are there none such in the world, that we have knowne or heard of: for it is apparent they cast us off as no Churches of Christ, because our Service is a humane devise, will-worship, Idolatry; And not on the contrary, that our Service is will-worship, or Idolatry, because our Churches are false Churches. Against all Communion with us they plead, because we are a false Church, but against our stinted Liturgie they argue not in that manner.

The grounds on which that Authour builds ( which he saith are common to all, that plead for the purity of Gods ordinances ) are one and the same with the grounds of the Separatists, shafts taken out of the same quiver and peculiar to them, some few brethren onely excepted, who of late have looked towards that opinion. See how affection will transport. Those reasons shall be common to all that plead for the purity of Christs Ordinances, which were never taken to be sound and true, either by the reformed Churches abroad, or by the godly Brethren at home, whether now at rest with the Lord, or for the present living, or yet by the most of the brethren among whom they live, and with whom they hold societie, or by any minister or Societie which did hold the unitie of the spirit in the bond of peace for the space of this 1400 yeares and upwards, by your owne confession, unlessse within these few dayes, and that by a few onely. If this be not to strengthen the hands of the Separatists, or at least, to lay blocks of offence in their way, what is? As yet we thinke most of them that have separated, are not so farre gone, as to condemne all our Assemblies as no Churches of Christ, but we judge they have proceeded further then Christ the Lord and Saviour of his Church hath given them commission or allowance, that the grounds whereon they build are unsound, and such as make way for further danger, if the Lord prevent not. And that the reasons mentioned in the letters are the proper grounds of Separatists, and not common to all them that seeke the purity of religion, for they are not approved by your selves: and if all this tend not to turne them who halt, out of the right way, wee heartily intreate you to consider.

Your judgement concerning the Position, you deliver in three propositions ( for so many they be for substance ) In respect of the persons reading the Liturgie, or the  
C thing

thing it selfe that is read. As if any part of the Liturgie bee read, (put case some few selected prayers onely, by an unable and ungodly minister : it is unlawfull (say you) for the people to joyne in that case. But if it be unlawfull for the people to joyne, when an ungodly minister readeth some few select prayers, it is either in respect of the Minister, or the prayers themselves. Not of the prayers themselves, for they be select and choyce, faultlesse both in respect of matter and manner, as it is taken for granted, unlesse this distribution be to no purpose ; if in respect of the Minister, then it is not lawfull to joyne with such a one in any ordinance of God whatsoever. For if the Minister make it unlawfull, then all communion in any part of Gods

We may not Communicate at all in that ministry, which is exercised by an unlawfull person or in an unlawfull place *Robinson* against *Eern.* Counsell debated p 17 *Ibid* pag 79

worship, with such Ministers is unlawfull, and so the Church in all ages of the world, the Prophets, our Saviour Christ, the Apostles, and the faithfull in the primitive Churches sinned, in holding Communion with such, when the Priests were dumbe dogges that could not barke, and greedy dogges that could never have enough; when the Prophets prophesied lies, and the Priests bare rule by their meanes; when the Priests bought and sold Doves in the Temple, and tooke upon them to provide such things for them that were to offer;

when the Pharisees corrupted the Law by false glosses, taught for doctrines mens precepts, made the commandements of God of none effect through their traditions, under pretence of long prayer devoured widowes houses, taught the Law, but practised it not; when they were such, and did such things, they were ungodly Ministers; But we never find that the Prophets, our Saviour, the Apostles, did either forbear themselves, or warne the faithfull not to communicate with such in the ordinance of worship. We reade our Saviour charged his Disciples, to beware of the leaven of the Scribes and Pharisees, to let them alone, because they were the blind leaders of the blind, but he never forbade to communicate with them in the ordinances of God. It is not then for private Christians to withdraw themselves from the ordinance of worship, and communion of the Church, because such are permitted to deale in the holy things of God, whom they judge or know unfit: when men joyne in the worship of God with unworthy Ministers, they doe not countenance them in their place and office, but obey the commandement of God, who requires their attendance upon his highnesse in that way and meanes.

*Esa.* 56. 10. *Exch* 44. 7.  
8. *Mic* 3. 11, 12. *Ier.* 5.  
31. *Esa.* 9. 15, 6. *Ioh.* 2.  
16. *Matth* 5. 20, 21. &  
15. 4, 5. & 23. 1-3. 14.

*Math.* 16. 6. 12.  
& 15. 14.

See *Whitak de pontif* q 4.  
f. 10. pag 557. *Phil.* 1. 15.

See *Whitak de pontif* q 4.  
f. 10. pag 557. *Phil.* 1. 15.

To goe no further then the text you quote, *Because thou hast despised knowledge, I will also reject thee, &c.* Properly the text is spoken of the ten tribes called *Israel*, and the Priests among them who worshipped the Calves which *Ieroboam* had set up, whom the Lord threatneth to reject, because they had rejected

rejected knowledge being either wilfully ignorant, or withholding the truth in unrighteousnesse. Whether they were for the present absolutely rejected, or the Lord threatens only to reject them we will not dispute.

This may suffice that it is not to be found either in this or any other Text of Scripture, that the people joyning in the true Worship of God, with unworthy Ministers, do countenance them in their place thereby. On the contrary, if you will extend this Text to all unworthy Ministers of what sort soever, whom the word of truth doth condemne as not approved Ministers of God, the Scripture teacheth evidently not onely that the people by joyning do not countenance them in their place and office, but that they must and ought to joyne with them in the worship of God, and in separating from the Ordinance they shall sinne against God, much lesse then do they in such joyning set those Idols and meanes of worship, which God never appointed in his Word. For the worship is of God, and the Ministry is of God, the person unworthily executing his place, is neither set up by some few private Christians, nor can by them be removed. And warrant to withdraw themselves from the worship of God, because such as ought not, are suffered to entermeddle in the holy things of God, they have none from God. Dumb Dogs, greedy Dogs, Idol-sheepheards, false Prophets, Strangers, are unworthy Ministers, but they that communicate with such in the ordinance of worship, are never said to set up Idols or means of worship which God never appointed. The sheep of Christ will not heare strangers in the Lords sense, but outwardly they heard those strangers preach (if the Scribes and Pharisees were such) and by hearing them discovered them to be strangers, i.e. false Prophets; Some strangers at least, of whom our Saviour speaks, were of the true Church, and of *Israel*, but brought false doctrine tending to kill the soule, such strangers none should heare, that is, believe and follow: but as they be tolerated in the Church, so they may hear them, so long as they bring the truth. Unworthy Ministers are no Ministers for themselves, but they are Ministers for the people of God, that is, so long as they be in the place of Ministers, the acts of their administrations are of force to the faithfull, if they observe the forme of administration prescribed by Christ; for Christs Ordinances have their efficacy from him, not from them that serve about them, and evill Ministers minister not in their own name, but in Christs and by his Commission.

It hath evermore bin held for a truth in the Church of God, that although sometimes the evill have chiefe authority in the ministration of the Word and Sacraments, yet for as much as they doe not the same in their own name but in Christs, and minister by his Commission and Authority, wee may use their Ministry both in hearing the Word, and receiving the Sacraments; neither is the effect of Christs

*Helio conf. cap. 18 § 11. & 19 §. 9, Gal. conf. art. 28 Aug. conf. Art. 13 Saxon. conf. Art. 12 Zep. de Sac. l. 2. c. 6. Art. of Religion, Hybern. Art. 70 (Carlion practi. de Ecclesia, cap. 20.*

Ordinance taken away, by their wickednesse, nor the grace of Gods gifts diminished from such as by faith, and rightly doe receive the Sacraments administred to them which are effectually; because of Christs institution and promise, although they be ministred by evill men.

Beza de Presbyt. et excommunicat. p. 25

26. *Ista vero, quia nonnulli à sacris  
catib. & sacrament. usu prop-*

*ter aliorum vitia ultro abstinent i.e.*

*seipos excommunicant magnam re-*  
*prehensionem merentur.*

The reasons whereby the ancient Churches condemned the Donatists and Catharists for their voluntary and seditious separation and the moderne Churches condemne the Anabaptists for their unwarrantable departure from, and so renting of the body of Christ, will hold against separation from the prayers of the congregation, because they are read by an ungodly minister.

The second proposition. Where the whole Liturgie is used, though by an able and godly Minister, it is not lawfull to joyne in prayer in that case. Herein wee cannot be of your judgement; for in the times of the Prophets, and our Saviour Christ, as great abuses, no question, were found in the Church of the Jews in the administration of holy things of God as can be imagined in our Liturgie or forme of prayer: but the Prophets and our Saviour who taught the people to keepe themselves pure and undefiled, never taught them to separate from the administration of the holy things of God. And if the presence at our forms of prayer be not lawful by reason of the corruptions alleaged, there can be no visible society named throughout the world since 200. yeeres after Christ or thereabouts, wherein a Christian might lawfully joyne in Prayer, reading the Scripture, hearing the word or participation of the Sacraments. For compare the doctrines, prayers, rites at those times in use in the Churches with ours, and in all these, (blessed be the name of the Lord) wee are more pure then they. But no man will be so bold (we hope) as to affirme the state of the Churches within 200. yeeres after Christ, to be so miserably decayed that the faithfull could not without sin hold communion with them in the afore said ordinances. The prayers of the Minister, whether conceived or stinted in a set forme, be not his private prayers, but the publike prayers of the whole assembly, whose mouth he is to God both in the one and the other. But you will not say, the people ought not to joyne with their Pastor in the publique assembly, if ought bee amisse in his prayer for matter, or manner, or both. It is all one to the people in this case, whether the fault be personall (as some distinguish) or otherwise knowne beforehand or not knowne: For if simple presence defile, whether it was knowne beforehand or not, all presence is faulty. And if simple presence defile not, our presence is not condemned, by reason of the corruptions knowne, whereof we stand not guilty, whether the corruption be through humane frailty or not, it is not in us to enquire, but rather whether we be called to come, and the faults such as one Chri-

stian

istian cannot or must not tolerate in another without breach of charity. For if the error be such as may be tolerated, and I am called to be present; by such fault I am not defiled though knowne before. If the error be such as in conscience may not be tolerated, though not knowne before hand, I am bound, if present some way to professe against it. This distinction of personall and ministeriall faults in this case untill it be cleared by some Text of Scripture or sound reason from the word, must goe for the devise of man.

A Church, a Minister, or a Christian may be stiffe in an error (being misper-swaded it is a truth) after many meanes long used to convince them, with whom yet we must hold communion in the ordinances of Religion: and the error may be such as we cannot without hypocrisy or denyall of the truth hold communion, though such meanes of conviction have not gone before. But the corruptions alleadged against our forme of prayer for matter or manner, are such as one Christian may and must tolerate in another where he hath no power to redresse them.

Hath not Christian wisdom and experience of humane frailties lessened you (deere brethren) to beare one with another in matters of greater consequence then any have or can be objected truly against the form of prayer in use among us? And why such corruptions should not be ascribed to humane frailty; we see not: For if a godly Minister make use of a book in things which he judgeth lawfull for matter and manner, the corruption in him that useth it according to his judgement, from what cause can it spring but humane ignorance and frailty? We rest assured you question not the integrity of many, who make much more use of the booke then onely in a few select prayers. From the bottome of our hearts we desire and pray that God would remove out of his Church and worship whatsoever offendeth for matter or manner, and that all things may be so done, not onely that they may be tolerated but that they might be approved in the conscience of all men.

But we are perswaded that not onely some few select prayers but many prayers & other exhortations may lawfully be used, with fruit and edification to Gods people:

We see no warrant why for every particular act, that in a larger sence is Idolatrous, adjoynd to Gods true worship, we should forbear our presence at the true worship it self. Unreason. of seperation. answ to 6. argument.

To aggravate faults especially when it tends to draw away people from the Ordinances of God, is no lesse fault then to excuse them, it may be greater, and therefore we dare not esteeme the prayers read by a godly and faithfull Minister according to the booke in use among us, a corrupt sacrifice whether in such as read them, or them that be present. In them that join according to Christs command (and liberty of absence from Christ hath not beene shewed) notwithstanding the corruptions, we hold the prayers to be an holy and acceptable sacrifice to God;

and pleasing to Jesus Christ. The corrupt sacrifice is that, which the deceiver bringeth voluntarily, and out of neglect, having a male in his flock: but the faithfull bringeth himself and his godly desires according to the will of God, and as for corruptions, whether respecting matter or forme, they are none of his, they cleave not to his Sacrifice to staine or pollute it. As for the Text of the Prophet *Mal. 1. 13, 14.* it is cited by many in this businesse, and to many purposes applyed, but we cannot finde that in the Prophet for which it is here brought, *The deceiver is accursed that offereth a corrupt thing to the Lord.* This we reade and beleeve, but that a godly man, being present at this forme of prayer among us, read by a godly and faithfull Minister, is the deceiver, who offereth a corrupt thing unto the Lord, that is not proved. No argument can be brought from this place to the purpose, but by analogy, which is a kinde of arguing of all other most ready at hand, but lyable to most exceptions, and apt to draw aside, if great care be not had, (which in this place we finde not) to take the proportion in every material point just and right. And we desire such as alleadge this passage of Scripture against simple presence at the prayers of our Liturgy, advisedly to consider whether God allow them to make such application of his truth which wee much doubt of, to say no more.

Your third proposition. That as you are very tender of imputing sinne to those men that joyne in some select prayers read by an able and godly Minister: so on the other side you are not without feare, least such joyning may be found unlawfull, unlesse it may appeare that the Ministers with whom the people have communion in reading those Prayers, neither give any scandall by reading them, nor give unlawfull honour to a thing abused to Idolatry and Superstition, nor doe suffer themselves to be sinfully limited in the reading of them.

1 We cannot conceive how you should imagine the practice of a godly Minister in reading some few select prayers to be scandalous or offensive in their congregations when the people generally, not in their assemblies onely, but throughout the whole land, were perswaded of the lawfulness of that course till now of late some have beene drawne away to separate, who yet by warrant of Scripture produce nothing of weight to countenance that practice.

2 If the booke should be as you take it an idolatrite, latent offence doth not oblige. If any man say unto thee, this is sacrificed to Idols, eat it not, so that if it doe not manifestly appeare that this practice is scandalous, it is not lawfull for the people to withdraw themselves.

3 The book (we speake of the Liturgie so far as it is sound and good) by your confession is no Idolatrite, neither was it taken out of the Masse-book in such sense as you object, but rather the masse & other Idolatrous prayers were added to it, for popery is as a scab or leprosie cleaving to the Church, and many truths belonging to the Church as her proper legacie were stollen and heaped together in that denne.

And

And why the true man may not challenge his goods where ever he finds the, or the thiefe plead title to the true mans goods by prescription, we know not? It is no hard taske to shew that our Service-booke was reformed in most things according to the purest Liturgies which were in use in the Church long before the masse was heard of in the world. And if that could not be shewed, yet formes of speech generally taken (we speak not of this or that speciall word or phraze) is no more defiled by Idolatry then the light aire, or place where Idolatry is committed. It is not unlawfull to pray, Lord helpe, or Lord have mercy, or to give thankes, praised bee God, because the Papists say, *Lady helpe, or, praised be God and the Virgin Mary.*

Fourthly, Put case the Minister in reading such prayers gives offence, or attributes unlawfull honour to a thing abused to Idolatry and Superstition, or suffer himselfe to be sinfully limited in the reading of them, what is that to the faithfull? This can be no just ground of the peoples not joyning with them in the worship of God, for that offence is personall onely, and not the sin of them that be present, they joyn in prayer onely, and not in his reading or limiting himself. Not to say that every particular person must be herein both accuser and Judge. If he give offence must they stumble at the stone, and separate from the ordinance of grace? wee should rather think it is their duty to look unto their feet, that they goe not awry. Let it be shewed out of the Word of God, that either the Minister is guilty of giving unlawfull honour, or that the people may lawfully withdraw themselves in case he should do so, and we will then say as you do, but untill that be proved, (being pressed and called to proffer our judgements) we believe that separation is scandalous and sinfull, never taught of God, nor confirmed by the approved example of the godly in any age or time of the Church: yea, against the positive law of God, injurious to the Churches distracting Christians, bringing contempt upon the Ordinances of God, and defrauding believers of the spirituall food of their souls, which is indeed to infringe their Christian liberty, and what ever may be thought of it now, in former times it hath been accounted no small offence.

Compare what Master I. D. hath written in defence or excuse in resorting to the Assemblie of the Separatists, called Brownists. *Apol. Sect. 5. exam. p. 61. & Apol. Sect. 128 exam. pag. 146.*

Fifthly, if this and such like scruples make it unlawfull to joyn in the ordinance of worship, we must hold communion with no society under heaven. For may not the brethren which hold all stinted Liturgies, and set forms unlawfull say with like strength of reason, It is unlawfull to joyn in conceived prayer with others, if either they give too little honour to it, as deeming the other lawfull: or sinfully limiting, or suffering themselves to be limited to one stinted forme, though conceived at first by them selves? And may not the brethren who hold a stinted forme lawfull in like manner object? It is unlawfull to joyn in prayer with them because they attribute too much honour to conceived prayer, as making their device and method the

the worship of God? And may not the Brethren which hold it lawfull to use some selected prayers according to the forms among us, upon the same grounds condemne communion with both sorts? and all of them one with another, because they either limit themselves too much, or too little? You say in the exposition of the first position, many Preachers constantly use a set form of prayer of their own making before their Sermons, must you not say upon this ground, that it is unlawfull to joyn with them, because they sinfully stint themselves? In probability a Christian may presume, that in the publike worship of God, there will be through humane ignorance & infirmity somewhat amiss for matter, or manner, or both, & that upon this ground, he must joyn with no society in any part of Gods worship at all.

The advancing of every small difference to this height, is that which will bring all to confusion, if men walk uniforme to their own principles. It is well observed by Master *I. Da.* that unlesse men will yield so much favour each to other in some difference of opinions, a dissolving not onely of Churches, but of humane societies also must necessarily follow, & not onely not two Ministers, but not two men should live together, which were to put off even humanity it selfe.

Sixtly, wee have credibly heard that you hold fellowship with professed, rigid Separatists without any acknowledg<sup>ment</sup> of their errour, and receive them as members, or communicate with them in the priviledges of the Church, though you professe you approve not their opinion or practice. And if in godly wisdome, you can see grounds to joyn with them, we marvell you should be so timorous in this particular.

Seventhly, if you judge the practice of such godly Ministers, scandalous to them that separate from the ordinance, because it is not administred in this, or that but in a stinted form. It is a scandall taken, and not given; and by forbearing, if to confirme men in errour, be to scandalize them, they should offend them the more: yea, they should prejudice the truth, and it might be an occasion to beget needlesse scruples in others, and draw them ignorantly from the fellowship of the Saints in the holy ordinances of God, and strengthe<sup>n</sup> them who by your owne confession, are run too far into Schisme already.

### III POSITION.

*That the children of godly and approved Christians, are not to be baptized untill their parents be set members of some particular Congregation*

### IV POSITION.

*That the Parents themselves, though of approved piety, are not to be received to the Lords Supper, untill they be admitted as set Members.*

*Answ.*

**T**Hese two Positions may be maintained with one and the same defence, being somewhat coincident, and therefore we joyn them as if they were but one. Therefore to prevent all mistakes, it may please you to take notice that we are not of their judg-

judgement who refuse all religious communion with such as are not Church Members, nor doe wee appropriate communion in this privileged of the seals only to the Members of our own Churches, excluding all other Churches of Christ from the same, though they may be through errour or humane frailty defective in some matters of order, provided that the liberty of our Churches be preserved, of receiving such satisfaction as is meet (as well by Letters of recommendation, or otherwise if it be requisite) concerning those whom wee admit unto fellowship in the seals. For as we account it our duty to keepe the unity of spirit inviolate with any, in whom we discern any fruits of the spirit, so we hold our selves bound to discharge this duty, according to order. Spirituall communion in prayers, holy conferences & other religious actions of like nature we maintain with al godly persons, though they be not in Church order: But Church communion we hold onely with Church members admitting to fellowship of the seals the known and approved, & orderly recommended members of any true Church. But into fellowship of the censures, admittance of members and choice of Officers, onely the members of that particular Church whereof they and we (any of us) stand members. These things being premised, the considerations whereupon our judgement and practice is swayed for administration of the Seals onely to such as are in order of a true visible Church are these that follow.

Reply.

**VV**hat is here premised to prevent all mistakes, doth seem more to raise then to abate scruples if we mistake not your meaning. You refuse not all religious communion with all that are not Church members, and so much they professe, who formerly have gone for, and professed themselves Separatists from our Assemblies. You do not appropriate this privileged of the Seals onely to the members of your own Churches, excluding all other Churches of Christ from the same; If your meaning be onely this, that you deny not the Sacraments administred in other Churches to be the true Sacraments of Christ for substance, then you ascribe little more to the Churches of Christ in this, then to the Synagogue of Satan, the Church of *Rome*. For you will not deny Baptisme administred among them to be true for substance: If you deny not to have fellowship with them in the Seals, and to admit them to the Sacrament, and to communicate with them: then either your judgment is contrary to your practice, or you exclude the Churches of *England* from the number of true visible Churches of Christ, which is to destroy what you formerly builded, and here professe. All possible care to keep the Ordinances of God from contempt, we allow and commend, provided you go not beyond the Lords warrant, and deny not the privilegedes of the Church to them, to whom they are due by divine appointment, nor the name and title of Church to those societies, which God hath plentifully blessed with means of grace, have received the Tables and Seals, and have entred into Covenant with his Highnesse. Your

liberty to receive such satisfaction as is meet, is not called into question, nor whether you are to keep the bond of the Spirit inviolate according to order. But whether this be to keep the bond of the Spirit inviolate (*viz*) to exclude from the Sacrament true visible believers or knowne recommended Christians, formerly members of visible Churches among us; and their children; because they are not members (as you speak) in Church Order. And whether God alloweth to put this difference between Church members of your societies & other visible believers walking in holines, though not admitted members of any society according to your Church order, as to receive the one, though members of another society, unto the Seals, and to debar the other and their children. These are the things to be considered in these present positions. And first we will examine your Reasons for your judgment and practice by themselves, and then so far as we judge meet, try your answers to the objections you make against it.

1 *Consideration.*

**T**He Seals Baptism & the Lords Supper are given to the Church, as a priviledge peculiar therto in ordinary dispensation. Indeed the preaching of the word is not so, being an ordinance given not onely for the edifying of the Church already gathered but also for the gathering of men to the Churches that yet are without: whereas the dispensing of the Seals is Gods Ordinance, given onely for the edifying of the Church being gathered, and not for the gathering of it: And because there is now, no universall visible Church on earth wherein the Seals are dispenced, there being no place, nor time, nor Officers, nor Ordinances appointed in the New Testament by Christ our Lord, for any such Assemblies as the *Jewes* had under *Moses*.

It remains that the Christian Churches, whereunto these priviledges were given, are congregationall, consisting onely of so many as may and do meet together ordinarily in one place for the publike worshipping of God, and their own edifying.

Hence it is that we read so much in the New Testament of the Churches in the plurall number, the Churches of Christ, the Churches of God, the Churches of the Saints: and not onely when they were of divers Nations, the Churches of the *Gentiles*, but also of the same Nation, The Churches of *Judea*, and not onely when that Country was of large extent and circuit, the Churches of *Asia*, but also of a small part of the Country, The Churches of *Galatia*: yea, when congregations in severall Cities are spoken of. They are called Churches, as the Churches of *Ierusalem*, the Churches at *Antioch*. To wind up all, seeing the Churches in the Gospell are congregationall, and that Baptisme and the Lords Supper (being Church priviledges) belong onely to the Churches, it will follow, that as City priviledges belong onely to Citizens and their children: so baptisme and the Lords Supper being Church

*Rom 16 16.*

*1 Cor. 11 16.*

*& 14 33.*

*Rom 16 4.*

*Gal 1 22.*

*1 Thess 2 14.*

*1 Cor 16 19.*

*Gal 1 2.*

*Act 15 2.*

*& 19 37.*

*& 15 25 38.*

Church priviledges, belong onely to the members of particular Churches, and their seed. And that seeing *sigillum sequitur donum*, to apply them to others what is it but to abuse them? As a seal of a corporation is abused if added to confirme the grant of priviledges which are peculiar to any Towne corporate to one that being no free-man of that corporation is incapable thereof.

Reply.

**I**F by the Church be understood the Society of men, professing the entire faith of Christ, the seales are given unto it as a peculiar priviledge; but if by the Church you understand onely a congregationall assembly in Church order, the seales were never appropriated to it. But to examine every thing in order as it is propounded.

1 The Seales, Baptisme, and the Lords Supper, are given to the Church as priviledges peculiar thereunto, not onely in ordinary (as you say) but also in extraordinary dispensation. True baptisme is not without the Church, but within it; an ordinance given to it, and they that are baptised, must needs be of a Church. The Sacraments are the seales of the Covenant to the faithfull, which is the forme of the Church, and when for substance rightly used, tokens and pledges of our spirituall admittance and entertainment into the Lords family, and Symbols or testimonies whereby the people of God are distinguished from all other Nations. This is most certain, as in the ordinary; so in the extraordinary dispensation of the Seales, as is confirmed by the Texts of Scripture alleadged in the Margine. For the Apostles (as you say) dispenced the seales in an extraordinary way, but the seales dispenced by the Apostles were Seales of the covenant, priviledges peculiar to the Church, priviledges of spirituall admittance and entertainment into the Lords family.

*Acts 2.38.41. Gen 1.10.  
Math. 18.14 20.  
Robins. against Bern. reas.  
discuss. p. 77.*

And when you say the dispencing of the Seals is an Ordinance given onely for the edifying of the Church being gathered, and not for the gathering of it, must it not be understood in extraordinary dispensation, as well as ordinary: To what purpose then are those words (in ordinary dispensation) added to the proposition? if thereby you would intimate that the Sacraments be not the peculiar priviledges of the Church, and Seales of the Covenant in extraordinary dispensation, it is evidently crosse to the Text you cite, and to your selves afterward. If your meaning be, that in ordinary dispensation the Sacraments doe of right belong to them onely, who bee set members of a visible congregation, it is all one with the conclusion, that which is in question and should be proved, and that which this very Scripture doth plentifully disprove; for they that were baptised were not set members of a particular congregationall Church whereunto they were baptised, nor in a Church way before baptisme (as is evident and granted by the most of your selves) but by bap-

tisme solemnly admitted into the Church, and then it is not for your purpose; or they were set members (as some of the brethren seeme to contend in answer to the objection framed against this consideration) and then the words are more then superfluous. Added, they were to prevent the objection which you foresaw might be made from the Apostles practice and example but so as they cut asunder the sinews of the consideration it selfe, and make it of no force. For as those beleivers were of the Church: so are approved Christians and their seed among us: therefore the priviledges of the seales belong unto them.

2 And as the seales: so is the word of salvation preached and received a priviledge of the Church. If by the preaching of the word you understand nothing but the tender of salvation or the publishing of the will of God, concerning the salvation of man, whether by private or publike persons; it is not proper to the Church but an ordinance given for the gathering of men to the Church, and not only for the edifying of the Church. For the Apostles first preached to the Gentiles when Infidels, that they might be converted; And we doubt not but a Minister or private Christian comming into a country of Infidells, may as occasion is offered, and as they shall be inabled, instruct and perswade them to receive the faith of Christ: but if by the preaching of the word be meant the giving of the word to a people, to abide and continue with them, and consequently their receiving of it at least in profession then it is proper to the Church of God.

Lev 2. 13.

The word makes disciples to Christ, and the word given to a people

Dent. 29. 12.

is Gods covenanting with them, and the peoples receiving this

& 26. 17. 18.

word and professing their faith in God through Iesus Christ is the

Rom. 3. 2 Dent.

4 6. Psal. 147 19

30 Neh. 9. 13.

Act. 7. 38. Luk.

16. 29 2 Cor 5

19 & 11 2. Dent

33. 3. 10. 8. 30

taking of God to bee their God. The lawes and statutes which

God gave to Israell, was the honour and ornament to that Nation,

and a testimony that God had separated them from all other peo-

ple, even the Gentiles themselves being Iudges. The word of recon-

ciliation is sent and given to the world reconciled in Iesus Christ,

and they that receive the doctrine, law, or word of God are the

Disciples, servants and people of God.

In your second consideration you intimate that there is a two fold preaching, the one by office and authority, the other in Common charity, or how ever else it may be called. For thus you write. God hath joyned to preach (*viz* by office) and to baptize together, therefore we may not separate them. Now to preach unto, that is to instruct or counsell in charity is a duty which may be performed to

Robin against  
Bern P 159.

an infidell, but to preach by office is proper to them that are called to that office: and so to be taught and instructed by Officers in the Church is proper to the Church.

To have pastors who shall feed with knowledge and understanding is a gift of matrimoniall.

*Act 14. 22. Tit 1. 5.*  
*Rob: against Bern.*  
*Act 11. 26.* In the  
 same verse the  
 same persons are  
 called the Church  
 disciples, and  
 Christians *pag. 116*  
*127. 211 &c. also*  
*pag. 51*

matrimoniall love which God vouchsafeth unto his Church. The Apostles first gathered Churches and then ordained elders in everie Citie or Church; so that it is proper to the Church to be fed and guided by true spirituall pastors who teach and blesse in the name of the Lord. And if the word preached and received bee a certaine note of the true Church, they that have intyrelly received the word of salvation and have Pastors godly and faithfull to feede and guide them, they and their seed have right and interest unto the seales in order.

Moreover the true worship of God is an inseparable and infallible marke of the true Church of God, for where Christ is, there is his Church. This is the prerogative of the church. The Prince shall be in the midst of them, and he shall go in when they goe in, &c. And Christ saith, where 2. or 3. are met together in my name there am I in the midst among them. And for certain they are gathered in the name of Christ that being lawfully called doe assemble to worship God and call upon his name in the mediation of Iesus Christ. In times past, the Church was acknowledged by the feare of God, and entyre Service of his Majestie, by the professing of the true faith and faithfull calling upon Gods name. The signes of Apostolike Churches are these. The continuance in the Apostles doctrine and fellowship, and breaking of bread and prayer. And if faith, true and lively (though mixed with many doubtings and errors) make a man a living member of Iesus Christ, the entyre profession of true faith joyned with holynesse of life in some measure answerable thereunto, makes a man a true member of the visible Church. And if the seales belong to the Church in right and orderly dispensation, they that joyne together in the true worship of God, according to his will, with godly and faithfull pastors, they have right and title to the Sacraments according to divine institution.

Thirdly, that there is now no visible Catholike Church in your sense will easily bee granted. *i.e.* there is no universall society consisting of all such as are accounted or to bee esteemed Christians, subjected to one or many vniversall Pastors or guides, wherewithall subordinates must communicate in some sacred things which may make them one Church and which may and can be performed by that vniversall and head Church only. Such an vniversall Christian Church Christ never ordained, no not in the dayes of the Apostles, to whom all the care of all the Churches, was committed. The Churches planted by the Apostles had all the same substantiall lawes and customes, the same guides and officers for kinde, the same ordinances of worship and meanes of Salvation: But one flock or Society in the fore mentioned acceptation they were not, because they were but subordinate to one visible head, Christ, with which they were to hold union and communion.

in some worship to be performed by them all jointly assembled at some speciall solemnity, nor subjected to the government of any supream tribunall constantly to be erected and continued among them.

As Christ is that one great Pastor, so hath hee generally one fold and flock, *John 10. 16. Ezech. 34. 12, 13* which is his Church, as he saith. And ye my flock, the flock of my pasture are men, *Ezek 34. 31. Aynsw. Cant 1. 8.* Sure it is that hee is none of Christs sheepe visibly, or in respect of men which is without Christs sheepfold, for there is one sheepfold and one shepheard. *John 10. 16. Robins against Bern likelihoods, p. 61.*

Lord whose servants they all are, and professe themselves, that one Spirit whereby they are animated as the body by one soul; whereby they believe in Christ, and which they acknowledge and professe, that one Baptisme inward and outward, whereby they put on Christ, and are initiated.

*Hieron. tom. 2. Ep. 85. Nec altera Roma urbis Ecclesia, altera totius orbis existimanda est, & Gallia, & Britannia, & Asia, &c. & omnes barbare Nationes unum Christum adorant, unam observant regulam veritatis.*

As God hath set some in the Church. His bodies sake which is the Church. The Church viz. whereof Paul was made a Minister, and whereunto the rest of the

Apostles were ordained, which was the Catholike visible Church, the society of men professing the faith of Christ throughout the world, divided into many particular Churches whereof some are pure, others impure, some more, others lesse sound. Hereunto it may

be added, that every multitude and society of believers are indefinitely called the Church, I persecuted the Church of God. The house of God which is the Church of the living God. In which sense all the Churches in the world may truly be called one. And thus the Apostle Peter writing to many dispersed Churches, who could not assemble in one place nor be fed by one Shepherd, speaketh of them singularly as one flock. Feed the flock of God which is a nong you. But that flock

are the strangers dispersed through *Pontus, Galatia, Asia, Cappadocia, and Bythinia,* which could not possibly joine together in the Ordinances of Worship], or make one distinct congregated assembly.

And

Nevertheless, in some respects of reason, the visible Church, may be called the Church, sheepfold or flock of Christ; for if the whole society or body mysticall of Christ be one, this Church militant in like sort is one: the unity of which society consists in that uniformity, which all severall persons thereunto belonging, have by reason of that one

This society is one in the inward fruition and enjoying of the benefits of Christs Death and Resurrection, and in outward profession of those things which supernaturally appertain to the very essence of the Church, and are necessarily required in every Christian, this acceptation of the word is not unusuall in Scripture.

*sed grex unus qui ab Apostolis omnibus unanimi consensu pascatur. Cyr. de unitate Ecclesie.*

And if the Catholike Militant Church be one Society, the Seals that are given as a prerogative to the Church are given unto it, and the true Members of the Catholike Church have right and title to them in due order, though they be not admitted into the Church fellowship you speak of.

*Et si pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem pascimus, Cyr. l. 3. Epistola 13. Cum sit a Christo una Ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa item Episcopatus unus Episcoporum multorum concordia numero diffusus, &c. Cyr. l. 4. Ep. 7.*

For as the flock or society is one: so is the Ministry, Faith, Covenant, and Sacraments, which are given as a communion prerogative unto the whole Church, and not appropriated to this or that part or member, as separated from the whole; which is further evidenced hereby, that sometime it hath, and too often it may fall out, that a Christian may be a true

member of the universall visible Church (i.e. he may hold, professe, and maintain that holy Catholike Faith, pure, and undefiled, without which no man can be saved) who for the present is no actuall member of any particular or visible society in Church order. As for example, a man may be cut off by Excommunication, from all commerce with the present visible Church wherein hee was bred and born, when hee is not cut off from the Catholike, Orthodoxall Church. Hee may be deprived of participation of the Ordinance in every particular society, when his right and title to them is much better then these who have most injuriously cast him out, or debarred him of the means of salvation.

The communion of Saints, whether visible or invisible is the effect and property of the Church Catholike, and agreeth to the severall parts and members thereof, as they be members of that body under the head, and if particular Churches have commuion together it must of necessity be, that they bee parts and members of the whole body which is one.

4. Though there be no universall congregation or assembly nor can be imagined, yet there are and have beene many visible assemblies or societies, true Churches of Christ, to whom the Prerogative of the Seals is given, which have not beene united and knit together, in Church-order into one congregationall body or society, For every society in covenant with God is the true Church of God: for what is it to be the flock, people or sheepe of God, but to be the Church of God?

And where there is a Covenant, there is the people of God. They that are of the faith of *Abraham*, are the children and seed of *Abraham*, and within the Covenant of *Abraham* (though but two or three) and so of the same Church with him by that covenant. The communication

*Rev. 1. 2. nst*  
*Bern. p. 1. 27.*  
*Rom. 4. 13. 18.*  
*Gen. 12. 3.*  
*Gal. 3. 6, 7, 8,*  
*15. 16, 17*  
*Rob. against*  
*E. r. p. 1. 212.*

on and accepting of the tables of the covenant is an undoubted token of a people in covenant or confederate, but every society professing the true and entire faith, joyning in prayer and thanksgiving, receiving the truth of God to dwell among them, and in some measure conforming themselves to the obedience of Gods Commandements, is in covenant with God. It is simply necessary to the being of a Church that it be laid upon Christ the foundation, which being done, the remaining of what is forbidden, or the want of what is commanded, cannot put the society from the title or right of a Church. For Christ is the foundation and head corner stone of the Church, and a people comming unto Christ, united unto him, built upon him, having communion with him and growing up in him, are the true Church of God: and if the seales be annexed to the covenant by God himselfe, as we cannot deny a people in covenant to be the Church, so we must not deny their right and title to the Sacraments. If therefore the meaning of the proposition be, that the seales be given to the Church, that is, to true and sound Christians, and people in covenant with God, as a priviledge whether in ordinary or extraordinary dispensation we accept it as good and sound, but it makes against your judgement and practise in keeping away such as have right and title to the ordinances. If you meane the seales are given to the Church, that is, onely to set members of some particular society combined by covenant (as it is among you) we cannot receive it, because it implieth a distinction not taught in Scripture, and crosse to your selves. And for the thing it selfe the Scripture hath nothing but many things against it as hath beene shewed.

5 If it be granted that the seales are the prerogative of a particular visible Church, known and approved Christians among us, and their seed are members of true and visible Churches, and so to be esteemed among you before they be entred into Church membership as you call it. For every society professing the intire and true faith, and joyning together in the right use of the Sacraments in matters substantiall is the true Church of God, and every visible beieever receiving the word and professing the true intire faith, admitted to the right and lawfull participation of the Sacraments is a visible member of the true Church, if he have neither renounced that society, nor deserved justly to be cast out by excommunication or Church censure. For the intire profession of the truth, the dwelling of the truth among men, the right use of the Sacraments (which is ever joyned with truth of Doctrine, and to be esteemed by it) is proper to them that be in covenant with God. And they that truly partake of the Seales must needs be of a Church, for the seales are not without but within the Church an ordinance given unto it, and if they be true members of the true Churches of Jesus Christ, other Churches, are bound to hold communion with them in the ordinance of worship as divine providence shall minister occasion.

In answer to the ninth position you say the members of other Churches, well known and approved by vertue of communion with Churches, doe mutually and with good acceptance communicate each of them at others Churches, even so often as Gods providence leads them thereunto, and themselves desire it. In your preface to this consideration, you say you admit to fellowship of the seales, the known, approved, and orderly recommended members of any true Church, and if knowne and approved Christians, members of our Churches comming over into *New England*, shall desire either to have their children baptized, or to be admitted themselves to the Lords Supper before they be set members of any society there, we desire to know upon what grounds from God you can deny them, if you acknowledge our Churches, Ministry, and Sacraments, to be true and of God (as you professe) and the members of the Church be known and approved, orderly recommended unto you.

It is the priviledge of Christians baptised themselves, and walking in the faith, that their children should have right to baptisme in all true Churches in the world. It is the priviledge of Christians lawfully and justly admitted to the Lords Supper in one visible Church, and walking in covenant with God, that they have right to this priviledge in all Churches professing their intire faith, and you must shew just and sound reasons from God of your judgement and practice in debarring their seed from baptisme, and parents themselves from the Supper, or else (to use the words of a reverend Elder among you, in a case of lesse importance, and not concerning so many) you will be found guilty of adding to the words, and making eleven Comandements, and setting up humane customes, and selfewill against Gods appointment. For the Sacraments are given to the Church as a priviledge peculiar thereunto, but you deny this priviledge to the true visible members of the Church, (as your selves confesse.) For if the Ministers be the Ministers of Christ, and their congregations the Churches of Christ, then knowne and approved Christians are members of the Church. In your opinion the members of the Jewish Church might be received unto baptisme, upon confession of the Christian faith, before they were entred into Church fellowship, and it is more then strange to us that you should not thinke the true visible members of the Churches of Christ to have as much title and interest to the Seales, as the members of the Jewish Church to the Sacrament of Baptisme.

*I. D. Apol. 5.  
Sect. ex. m. pag.  
61, & 18.*

6 The distinct Churches mentioned in the New Testament, it is not certain that they were congregationall societies consisting onely of so many as might and did meete together ordinarily in one place at one time for the publike worship of God, and their own edification, and if this were granted it would not carry the weight that was laid upon it, But because it may make way for the clearing of some other

points pertaining to discipline and Church orders, we intreat leave to set downe, and desire you to examine what may be objected against it. We will not insist upon this that the least circuite wherein there is mention of Churches is ample enough

Bucer diff. ep 3  
pa 43 & ep 48.  
pa. 116.

to containe some diocesses, and the least City, populous enough to make many number some congregations. Nor upon this, that to meere at one time and one place, as one assembly is a thing meere-ly accidentary to the unity of the Church and society Ecclesiasticall

which is still one, when they are dispersed asunder, and no particular man of that society at first remaining now alive. The number of beleevers was so great in some Cities as they could not conveniently meere in one place as one assembly to worship the Lord according to his will and for their edifying. That there was a Church gathered in the City of *Samaria* by the ministry of *Phillip* will not be denyed, for they received the word and were baptised, but that the Church in that City was onely a congregationall assembly is more then can probably be concluded out of Scripture. For the whole City or the greatest part could not ordinarily assemble in one place to their edification: But the whole City

act. 8. 6. & 15

act. 8. 12. 14.  
& 18. 12.

Acts 2. 41.  
& 4. 4. & 5. 14.  
& 6. 1. & 6. 7

of *Samaria*, in a manner, (as it is probable) imbraced the faith. As the whole City from the least to the greatest had given heede to *Simon Magnus* before, so to *Phillip* now when he preached Christ, And the Text saith expressly that *Samaria* received the Gospell.

The Christian Church at *Ierusalem* was one and distinct, but it grew and increased first to 3000. then to 5000. afterwards multitudes of men and women were added, and the multitude of Disciples increased; it is also noted that a company of the Priests received the faith. The Syriacke hath it of the Jews, (*scil.*) inhabiting Judea, but the *Greeke*, *Arabian*, vulgar, *Chrysostoms* & *Ethiopiens* approve the former, and the number of the

Exa. 2. 36, 37,  
38.

act. 6. 2 & 8. 1.  
15. 2, 4, 6,  
22, 23 & 16. 4.  
& 21. 18. 18.

Priests was not small: there is mention also of millions of beleevers. And when all the Apostles, or the greatest part of them remained at *Jerusalem* for a time continuing in the ministry of the word and prayer, and that they might doe it the more earnestly and diligently, left the care of the poore to others: how can we thinke but that Church did grow exceedingly, and the number of beleevers there to

be more then could fitly meere ordinarily in one congregation. Without question the number of beleevers in *Antioch* was not small, of which it is said expressly, that a great number beleeved, turned to the Lord and that a great multitude was added to the Lord by the preaching of *Barnabas*, and that *Paul* and

act. 11. 21.

act. 11. 24 & 26

*Barnabas* continued there one whole yeere preaching the word of God, and teaching the multitude, so that the Disciples were first called Christians at *Antioch*. After that this Church was visited by *Paul* and

Act. 13. 12 et  
14. 27. et 15. 30  
34. 35.

and *Barnabas*, who continued there teaching and preaching the Word of God with many others also, and may wee not thinke that this Church did quickly rise to such bignesse that they could not well assemble in one congregation as now wee call

them?

It will easily be credited that the number of believers was not small at *Ephesus*, if we call to minde that when *Paul* had been there but two yeers, all they that dwelt in *Asia* had heard the word of the Lord both *Iews* and *Grecians*, that a great doore and effectually was opened to him at *Ephesus*, That the art for making Shrines, and *Dianaes* Temple was in danger to be set at nought, and that those that had used curious arts, came and burnt their books in the sight of all men, which could not be done without great danger unto the Church, unlesse a great part of the City had believed. Where a Church did comprehend a City with its Suburbs and the Country circumjacent, i.e. the believers who professed the faith within that circuit. It might well be that the number did so increase through the extraordinary blessing of God, which accompanied the preaching of the word in those primitive times, and first planting of the heavenly Kingdome, that they could not well meet ordinarily in one place, and yet continued one Society. For when a number is gathered in small Villages, or some added to the number already gathered, it is not meet they should be neglected because small, nor divided from the body, because the number not competent to make an intire and perfect body of it selfe. The increase of the Churches doth require an increase of Elders, and (if they grow to bignesse more then ordinary) an increase of places for their assembling, when the essence of the visible Church is not changed, nor one multiplied or divided into many. And it is more available for the good of the Church, and further removed from all ambition, if the Society shall assemble occasionally in divers places as parts and members of the body, then to constitute a distinct free Society consisting of a few Believers, not fit to make up an intire body contrary to the precedent examples of the Apostles. In times of grievous and hot persecution the Churches of God could not assemble in any great number in publick places, but have been compelled to meet in Woods, Caves, Dens, and dark corners, as the Lord hath offered opportunity, one and the same Society in fundry places: So that either it is not essentiall to the Church to meet together in one place ordinarily, or their Society is broken off by persecution, when their meeting together in one place is interrupted. It is said by some where the Church grew

Robinson against  
Bern p. 196.

greater, sometimes by the suddain and extraordinary conversion of more then could well so assemble, then was there presently a dispersion of the former, and a multiplication of more particular Assemblies. But in the Scriptures quoted no such thing doth appeare, but rather the con-

*Euseb. h. l. 6. c. 39  
I. at 43. G. 1. 33.  
Raff.*

trary as hath been proved. In after times when the Church was within the Cities as of *Rome, Ephesus, Alexandria, Carthage, Jerusalem, &c.* the number of Believers did greatly exceed the bignesse of a convenient and fitting assembly which might ordinarily congregate in one place to worship God according to his appointment when the Church was but one.

Seventhly. Seeing then both the Seals in ordinary and in extraordinary dispensation belong to the Church, *id est*, to the faithfull, and repentant, taught made Disciples, who have received the word, believe, and professe the faith, have received the holy Ghost, and walke in obedience, who are members of other visible Churches, or to be made members of a visible Church for the time being, by admittance unto the Sacraments, and not unto set members of congregationall assemblies only. And seeing the godly and faithful Ministers among us are the true Ministers of Christ, and their godly congregations, true Churches, and knowne, and approved Christians, true members of visible Churches formerly baptized, and admitted to the Lords Supper. This consideration is of no weight to justify your opinion and practice in debarring known and approved Christians, professing the faith, members of the true visible Churches amongst us from the Lords Supper, or their seed from Baptisme, because they be not yet received as set members of some particular congregation amongst you: And if such Believers are not to be received to the Seals, we desire you to consider if ever the Sacraments of the New Testament, were rightly dispensed in the Church of the New Testament from the first Plantation thereof unto this day.

The Seale doth follow the grant, and as the Seale is prophaned, if it be put to a false grant or Charter, so are the faithfull wronged if the Seale in a lawfull way de-

*1 hit de Sacra contr  
de bapt. qu. 2 & 3  
pag 237, 238.  
Atterf. of the Sacr:  
l. 2 c 6 fol. 211.*

fired, be denied to them that have received the grant, *i. e.* have right unto Jesus Christ, and communion with him. But the faithfull who have received the word with gladnesse, believe, and professe, be members knowne and approved by other visible Churches, or such as desire to be admitted members of that visible Society for the time by communicating in the ordinance, are al-

ready partakers of the grant or charter, have right and interest in Christ, may lawfully desire the Seals, and may be admitted as members for the time being of that particular Society. Therefore to debar such, from the Lords Supper, and their seed from Baptisme, is against the Law of nature, and the positive Law of God, an injury to the faithfull and their seed, a wrong to the Catholike visible Church, that particular society, and the Pastors themselves that so debar them. They sinned grievously who deferred Baptisme to the end of their life, and the negligence of Pastors

*P. 2. de P. of  
dyt. p. 79.*

and Teachers who did not instruct the ignorant and reprove the superstitious, was great. And is not the severity in debarring such as crave and desire to be admitted to the Seals an injury to be repre-

hended?

*Ansiv.*

*Ans.* 2 Consider the ordinary administration of the Seales is limited to the ministry and the ministry to a particular Church; therefore the seals also must necessarily be proper to the Church and to the members thereof.

1. That the administration of the seales is limited to their Ministry is evident from the first institution *Math.* 28. 19. where God hath joyned (to preach) *viz.* by office, and (to baptize) together, therefore wee may not separate them. For howsoever: any man may by the appointment of the Lord and Master of the family, signifie his minde and deliver his message from him to the family, yet the dispensing of a fitt portion of food to everie one of the household is a branch of the stewards office. Indeed the keyes are given to the whole Church yet the exercise and dispensation of them in this as well as in other particulars is concredited to the Ministers who are called to bee *ὁ νόμος μου ἐστὶν θεὸς*, *1 Cor.* 4. 1. And no Church office can be orderly performed by any, but one that is called thereunto nor will God vouchsafe his presence, and blessing (wherupon all spirituall efficacy depends) in an ordinance dispensed, but when it is dispensed by those whom he hath ordayned and appointed therunto.

2. That the ministry is limited to the Church appeares as from evident texts of Scripture: so also upon this ground. 1 The office is founded in the relation between the Church and the officer, wherfore take away the relation, and the office and the worke ceaseth.

For where he hath not power, he may not doe an act of power, and he hath no power where he hath not a relation by office. Herein the proportion holdeth between an officer of a towne corporate, and of a Church that as the power of the former is only within his owne corporation: so the power of the latter is confined to his owne congregation.

*Reply.*

**T**He proposition is granted that the dispensation of the Sacraments in the New Testament both ordinary and extraordinary is limited to the Ministry. But in that you alleadge for confirmation, somethings may be noted.

1. The first institution of Baptisme is not contained in that passage *Math.* 28. 19. but confirmed; For the seales of the New Testament were instituted by Christ before his death, and his disciples had baptized many which they could not doe before the institution of the Sacrament. Secondly we see not how you can apply that text to Preaching by office, which according to our exposition must bee a dispensing of a fitt portion of food to everie one of the household. For it is plaine the Apostles were sent forth to preach to everie Creature or unto the world, to convert men unto God, to make them disciples and not to preach unto disciples only, or members of the household. The Apostles certainly had authority, and preached by authority,

*Rob. against  
Bern. p 151  
these Keyes in  
d. &c.*

but they preached not to Infidells and Heathens, as to disciples or members of the Church, much lesse did they give a portion to them as to the household which is the preaching by office, which you acknowledge. Thirdly if under the power of the keyes you comprehend preaching by office, dispensing the seales, casting out, and receiving againe into the bosome of the Church wee deny the power of the keyes to belong to the Church or community of the faithfull: we cannot find in Scripture that Christ ever granted such power to the faithfull, as faithfull joyned together in Covenant in those passages which speake of this power, the execution of this authority is given to them to whom the authoritie is committed.

In the Corporation (the Church) there is always the whole power of Christ to residing, which you may call officers for the use of it selfe, to which it is sufficient that it can without officers use this power for things simply necessary; as for receiving in of members by profession of faith and confession of sins, for edifying of them by exhortation and comforts in the ordinance of prophesying, and so for excommunication. *Rob. against B. pag. 214.*

If the power of the keyes be given to the whole Church the Apostles themselves must derive their authoritie immediatly from the Church, and not from Christ, for the power must be derived from them, unto whom it was given; but their power, and authority was not from the Church, but from Christ immediatly. And if the dispensation, and exercise of the keyes, be concredited to the Ministers; Doth it hold in all things or onely in the dispensation of the Sacraments, and preaching by office? Doe they dispense the seales as the Stewards of Christ, from whom they receive their authority immediatly or as the servants of the Church, from which they derive their authority? If in the first sense; the power of the keys is not in the community of the faithfull. If in the second, the office of a Minister is not the immediate gift of Christ, nor the Minister, so much the servant of Christ, as of the Church, from whom he must receive lawes, in whose name he must doe his office, and to whom he must give an account. We could wish you had explained in what sense, you hold the dispensation, and execution of the power of the keyes is concredited

*See Rob. against Ber.  
pag. 130. 131. 132. If  
you call it consultation  
in an assembly  
wherein all have e-  
quall power and  
voyce in determin-  
ing things some  
one going before the  
rest Idem pag 202*

to the Ministers, and by whom. For if the community of the faithfull have to doe in all matters concerning the body, to admit members, and cast them out, to make and depose Ministers, to bind and loose by authority derived from Christ, wee cannot see how in your judgement the dispensation, and execution of the power of the keyes is concredited to the Ministers.

Fourthly That which you add, that God will not vouchsafe his presence and blessing to an ordinance but when it is dispensed by those, whom hee hath ordayned and appointed thereunto, must bee warily understood, or it may occasion errors and distractions not

not a few, You know what corruptions soone entred into the Church of God, both in respect of Doctrine, Worship, Offices, and entrance thereunto, and how ready and apt is the conclusion from your words, That Christ hath not vouchsafed his presence, and blessing in his Ordinances to his Church? But of this before.

Robins against  
Bern. Coun.  
debated, p 32.  
ibid. p. 79.

And on the contrary, seeing God hath vouchsafed his blessing in his Ordinances dispensed by your selves, when you stood as visible Ministers in the congregation, and Churches of old *England*, you must confesse, did approve both your standings and his Ordinances dispensed by you.

Secondly, as for the Assumption, that Pastors and Teachers are limited to a particular charge or society; but that flock is not ever one congregationall assembly meeting in one place, neither the band so streight, whereby they are tied to that one society, that they may not upon occasion performe some Ministeriall Act or Office in another congregation, or to them that be not set members of their proper assembly. For first to dispence the Seals of the covenant is a ministeriall act, an act of Office, and not an exercise of gifts onely: But the Pastors of one Assembly may dispence the Sacrament to the set members of another society upon occasion, as you confesse in this and in your answer to the ninth position.

And if the members of one Church may lawfully upon occasion receive the Sacrament of the Supper in another society from the Pastor thereof, then may the Pastor of one congregation performe a Ministeriall act to the members of another, and if to the members of another then in another congregation with consent, and upon occasion.

Secondly, As the Ministers are exhorted to feed their flock: so is every Christian and Minister to try and examine himselfe whether hee be in the faith, but you will not allow this conclusion. I must examine my self. *Ergo*, no man is debarred from the Sacrament for his unworthinesse, or to be tried or examined by others, to be observed, admonished, and brought to repentance for notorious sin. No more can it be rightly gathered from the former passages of Scripture, that the Minister is not upon occasion to performe any Ministeriall act to any other people or society, because ordinarily he is to attend his own flock.

Beza de Pres-  
byt. & Excom.  
pag. 32  
Robins against  
Bern. pag. 252.

Thirdly, As the Ministers have peculiar relation to their particular flocks, so the people unto their particular Ministers, unto whom they are tied in speciall manner, as to their Overseers, who must give account for their souls. And if this peculiar relation betwixt the people & the Minister doth not hinder the people from receiving the Lords Supper at the hands of another Minister; nor the minister from performing the Ministeriall act to the members of another congregation. Neither doth his peculiar Relation to his own flock hinder him, from administering unto others

others upon just occasion being intreated thereunto. As the combining of the people to their peculiar Minister, doth not quite cut off their communion with other Ministers: so neither doth the restraining of a Minister to a peculiar flock quite cut him off from administering upon occasion: unto another people. *Paul* appointeth the *Ephesian*

Elders unto the care & charge onely of their own particular flock, but so to attend them ordinarily according to the rules of the Scripture; that as occasion was offered, might performe some Ministeriall acts in another congregation. The taking heed unto their flocks which *Paul* requires in this place doth comprehend under it the administration of the Word, Prayer, and Sacram-

*Acts 20 28* The Word of God and Canons of Councils will have Pastors so to care for their own flock, that they forbid them not to care for the whole Church, especially in a time of common combustion. The answer of some Brethren, pag 12.

*Publica Dei invocatio non minima pars communis in una fide confessionis.* Beza contra Erastum, de Presbyt pap. 13.

ent, and if it must be restrained to their owne particular Churches onely, it is unlawfull for a Pastor to preach or call upon the name of God in any publike Assembly save his own, upon any occasion, as these be duties pertaining to common confession or profession of faith. Ordinary Pastors and Teachers it is true, are not Apostles, who are to go from place to place, from Country to Country, to plant and erect Churches, but they are tied ordinarily to one flock, as the Text proveth, and to which purpose it is commonly cited. But that a Pastor is so tied to his flock, that he can perform no ministeriall act to any other upon any occasion that it proveth

*Euseb. Hist 5. c. 26.*

*Græc.*

*Chamier. Pass.*

*Tom 2. l. 10. c. 8.*

*Scit. 16.*

*The Churches*

*Ples, pag 44.*

*April pag. 117 &*

*198.*

not, nor can we find that it was ever so understood by Divines ancient or modern. *W. B.* telleth us, the learned bring these allegations to this purpose. But the authour in alledging the consent of the learned was very carelesse or much abused, for there is not one that speaketh to the purpose. *I. D.* disclaimeth that position; and for the rest it is a matter notorious, they were never thought to be of that opinion; and wee doubt not if any could be named to free this allegation from suspicion of Novelty, you would have cited one or more as you have done in that which followeth.

*Feed the flock of God* (saith *Peter*.) But he speaks of all those dispersed Churches to whom he writes, which he calls a chosen Generation, a Royall Priesthood, a peculiar people: And in some respect of reason, under which we may apprehend them, are one flock, but not really as combined under the same Pastor, or meeting in one place. And as these dispersed believers, or societies make one Flock: so the Ministers attending their flocks or societies, and the Ministry exercised by them is, or maketh one.

4 A Minister chosen and set over one society, is to looke unto his people committed to his charge, and feed the flock, over which the Lord hath made him overseer, but

but he is a Minister in the Church Universal, for as the Church is one, so is the Ministry one, of which every Minister (sound or Orthodox) doth hold his part, and though he be Minister over that flock onely which he is to attend, yet he is a Minister in the universal Church. The function or power of exercising that Function in the abstract, must be distinguished from the power of exercising it, concretely, according to the divers circumstances of places. The first belongeth to a Minister every where in the Church, the latter is proper to the place and people where

hedoth minister. The lawfull use of his power is limited to that congregation ordinarily. The power it self is not so limited and bounded. In Ordination, Presbyters are not restrained to one or other certaine place, as if they were to be deemed Ministers there onely, though they be set over a certain people. And as the faithfull in respect of a community betwixt them, must and ought to performe the Offices of love one to another, though of different societies, so the Ministers in respect of their communion, must and ought upon occasion to performe ministeriall Offices towards the faithfull of distinct societies.

5 If this be not so, what shall become of the poore flock when the Pastor is driven away by personall persecution, so that he cannot, if others may not afford them helpe and succour: what when the congregation it selfe is dispersed, must no sheepeerd receive them into fold, when they are driven from their own, or neglected by him?

6 If the Pastor may be absent from his flock upon necessary, just, and weighty occasion, respecting his own good, the good of that society, or the common good of Churches consociate, then may the Pastor, the society, the Churches procure some man to supply the defect, and doe the office of a Pastor, preach the Word, pray, and as occasion is offered, administer the Sacrament in that Congregation unto that Assembly untill their Sheepeerd shall returne. Shall the people be left as sheepe without a sheepeerd; because for the good of the Churches their owne sheepeerd is called from them for a time, that he might returne with greater joy and comfort?

The Pastor is appointed to feed his own flock, and yet for the good of the whole Church he may be called to leave, if not the care, yet the over-sight of his flock for a while; and by the same reason a pastor of another flock or congregation may performe the office, and doe the acts of a Minister in his congregation during absence: Yea if for the good of the Churches he be called away, doe not the Churches stand obliged in conscience to provide that the flock sustain no hurt by his absence which

*Orig. in Isa. Hom. 6. Qui vocatur ad Episcopatum, vocatur ad servitium totius Ecclesie. Chrysost. in 2 Cor. hom. 18. Universae curam gerimus. See Cham Panstr. Tom. 2. pag. 10. cap. 12. Sect. 8, 9, 10. &c. Jun. Animadv. in Bellar. contro. 5. lib. 1. c. 3. not. 3. & cap. 7 not. 7.*

possibly yee cannot doe if one Minister may not performe a Ministeriall act in another Congregation.

7 If the Prophets of one Church may prophesy in another, and apply their doctrines, exhortations and prayers to any of the occasions of the  
*Act. 13. 15.* Churches where they speake, whereof they are not set members, what hinders why the Pastor of one congregation, may not preach and pray, administer the Sacraments in another? The pastor of one congregation is appointed to his peculiar charge but he is a Minister in the universall Church, as well as the Prophets of one Church may bee called Prophets of the universall Church by vertue of that Communion which all true Churches have one with another. Without consent the Prophet may not prophesie by exhortation, and with consent the Pastor may administer the Sacraments.

8 In the Primitive Churches when Elders were ordained in every City, they were not onely to looke to their flock but indeavour the conversion of poore Infidels among whom they lived, and the enlargement of Christs Kingdome, for the worke of the Lord must be done in its season, and then was the time of the calling of the Gentiles:  
*Rom. 16 3 12*  
*Phil. 2. 15, 16.*  
*1 Cor. 4. 1.*

It was not their office proper and essentiall to travail from Countrey to Countrey as did the Apostles, nor were they pastors of the Infidels, but by private instruction and publique teaching (if any of them would bee penitent) they were to labour the conuincing of them to God. And these Infidels converted to the faith were to be baptised of the Elders ordinarily in those Cities, though the number might bee so great as they could not well meete in one Congregation, nor be subject to the same Pastor; for either they must bee

baptized by the pastors among whom they lived, (being converted to the faith) or continue unbaptized untill they were a number convenient to make a distinct society, or grow together into one body, and to elect and choose their own Minister by whom they may be baptised: But that either they must stay so long without baptisme, or that a society of unbaptised men had power in those times to elect and choose their Minister, by whom they should be baptised is contrary to all presidents in Scripture.

9 And so if a Pastor may not performe a ministeriall act to any other person or people but his own flock onely, then a company newly converted from infidelity, which cannot joyne themselves as set members to another assembly, must remain unbaptised till they have chosen their Minister to doe that office. Then must the people thus converted want officers til there be among themselves able men to pray, preach, exhort in the congregation at the ordination of their Minister, or (if that may

may bee omitted) till there be fit men among them to examine the fitnessse of him that is chosen.

10 If subtile Heretikes arise, and seduce, and draw away many from the faith, and the body of the society be not able to convince them, either they must be let alone or cast out without conviction, for neighbouring Ministers stand in peculiar relation to their flocks onely, and must not meddle beyond their calling according to your tenent.

11 There is no precept or example in Scripture more to warrant the admitting of a set member of one congregation unto the Supper in another, or the baptising of his child, occasionally in another assembly then there is for receiving of knowne and approved Christians, and their seede that are not set members.

The Pastor is no more the pastor of the one then of the other, nor the one more of his flock then the other, neither of them set members, and both sorts may be members for the time being, and they most properly who are of longest abode among them. But as we heare it is frequent among you (as at *Dorchester, &c.*) to baptise the children of another Assembly, and usually you admit to the Supper of the Lord, members of other Churches, and therefore the Minister is not so limited to his particular Church or flock but he may dispence the seales to others, which in this consideration is denied.

What example have you but grounds for the baptising of infants? or where read you of any officer excommunicated by any *Rob. against Ber. p. 214.* we may not expect examples of any Pastors in scriptures: who did thus, *1. D. Apol. 9. Self. exam p. 113.*

*See 1. D. Apol. text. exam pa. 288.*

12 If the want of one Officer in a Congregation for a time, may be supplied by another, as the want of the Doctor, Ruling Elder, or Deacon, by the Pastor; why may not the defects of some Congregation or Christians be supplied by Pastors or Ministers of another Congregation, when they are requested and desired? the minde herein is godly, and the means lawfull, and well pleasing unto God.

13 And if a Synod consisting of sundry members of particular Churches, met together in the name of Christ about the common and publike affaires of the Churches shall joyn together in prayer and communion of the Supper, wee can see no ground to question it as unlawfull, although that Assembly be no particular Congregation or Church, hath no Pastor over them, make not one Ecclesiasticall body as a particular Congregationall Church, unlesse it be for the time onely. The Minister therefore may do an act of office to them that be not set members of his flock as he may stand in Relation to them for the time.

14 Your comparison betwixt an Officer of a Town Corporate, and of a particular Congregation is not alike, unlesse you will say that a member of another Corporation occasionally comming into the Towne, is thereby a member of that Society, and subject to the authority of the Officer. For so you professe that the

members of one Society may occasionally communicate with another, and so be subject to the Pastor for the time being, which if you grant, it overthrows the whole strength of this consideration. Howsoever the comparison it selfe is very perillous if it be pressed. For if the Officer of a Town Corporate, presume to doe an act of power out of his owne Corporation, it is a meer nullity, but if a Minister of the Gospel dispence the Sacrament of Baptisme, or the Lords Supper to believers of another Society (though done without consent) it was never deemed or judged a nullity in the Church of God. Let the comparison hold good, and most Christians have cause to question whether they be truly baptized, or ever lawfully received the Sacrament of the Lords Supper. If it may not be doubted, whether ever the Sacraments of the New Testament were truly or by authority dispenced, especially if we consider what follows in the other considerations. This Argument from comparison is very usuall in the Writings of Brethren against communion with our Churches, but for the most part greatly mistaken, to say no more.

*Answer 3 Consideration.*

Circumcision and the Passoever were to be administred onely to the members of the Church. *Ergo*, Baptisme and the Lords Supper is so to be administred also. The consequence is made good by the parity of these Ordinances. For if the Argument hold strong for the prooffe of *Pædo-Baptisme* which is taken from the circumcision of Infants, why may we not as well infer a necessity of Church membership to Baptisme, from the necessity of it to circumcision. And that Circumcision was peculiar to the Church members of the Church, may appeare in that persons circumcised,

& onely they, might eat the Passeover, and they onely might enter into

*Exod 12 43.*

*Exod. 44 7.*

the Temple, which were the priviledges of Church members. In our answer to the second Objection against the first consideration we have shewed that Circumcision was not administred to all that were under

the Covenant of Grace (which all believers were) but onely such of them as joy-  
ned themselves to the Church, at first in *Abrahams* family, whereunto Baptisme

doth so far answer that the Apostle counteth these expresse equiva-

*Col 2. 11, 12.*

lent to be circumcised in Christ with circumcision made without hands, and to be buried with Christ in Baptisme. Indeed, in some-

things they differ as onely the Males were circumcised, whereas with us Females are also baptized. The Reason is because God hath limited Circumcision to the Males; but under the Gospel that difference is taken away. Againe, Circumcision was administred in the private family; but Baptisme, onely in the publick Assemblies of the Church. The Reason of this difference is, because they were bound to circumcise the Males on the eighth day, but that could not stand with going to the Temple which was too far off; for the purpose, to bring every child thither from all parts of *Judea* to be Circumcised the eighth day. Nor had they alway opportunity of a solempne convention in the Synagogue on every eighth day; when some child

child or other might be to be circumcised. But there is no precise day set downe for Baptisme, nor are opportunities of publick Assemblies so remote where Churches are kept in a congregational frame, but that every first day of the week Baptisme may be administred if it be required. Again, for the Aforesaid Reason, Circumcision required not a peculiar Minister (for ought we finde in Scripture) but it is not so in Baptisme, as was shewd in the second Consideration. But no good Reason can be given, why, in this they should not both agree, *viz.* that they are both to be dispensed onely to members of the visible Church, as it hath been proved in the first Consideration.

Reply.

**T**His whole Reason as it is propounded makes onely against it selfe; who ever thought that the Seals of the Covenant were not proper to confederates or the Church of God? But of old all visible Believers under the Covenant of Grace walking in holinesse, were of the visible Church, and in Church Order according to the dispensation of those times, though not joyned in externall society with the Family of *Abraham*. And to exclude *Melchisedeck* or *Iob*, because they were not members of the visible Church, when yet they were visible Believers under the Covenant of Grace, and in Church Order as those times required, is well-nigh a contradiction, And so it is to debar known and approved Christians members of our Congregation, and their seed from the Seals, because they be not of the visible Church, for they are members of the Church, and so to bee held and esteemed of all true Churches and members of the Church, The true & proper meaning of this Consideration, is that as Circumcision and the Pascheover were not to be dispensed to all visible Believers under the Covenant of Grace, but onely to such as were joyned to *Abrahams* Family, or to the people of the God of *Abraham*, no more may Baptisme and the Lords Supper be administred to any Believers now, unlesse they be joyned to some particular Congregation in Church Membership, or unlesse by solempne Covenant, they be set members of some particular Assemblies.

The strength of this Consideration stands in the parity which is betwixt the Sacraments of the Old and New Testament, Circumcision and Baptisme, for *parum par est ratio*, but this parity is not found in every thing (as is manifest by the particulars alledg'd in the Consideration it self.) And wee must justly require some reason to prove them like in that particular, but to unfold it more fully, we will consider three things. First, how far an argument may be drawn soundly from one Sacrament to another, or wherein the Sacraments agree, and wherein they differ. Secondly, What wee are to think of the proposition it self. Thirdly, whether the Reason of Circumcision and Baptisme be one in that particular.

*Erast* so objects against *Bern.*  
*Sicut a Circumcisione ad Baptismum argumentamur ut probemus infantes esse baptizandos, ita etiam licet ab agno Paschatis ad Carnam Domini, &c.* whereto hee truly replyeth. *Ego vero, non negollicere &c. at non temere & universaliter.* *Beza contra Erast.* pag. 23.

First the Sacraments of the old Testament and the new agree in their Common author, nature and end, and therefore what is spoken of one in respect of the common author, nature and end that doth hold true of everie one. If Circumcision be of divine institution a seale of the Righteousnesse of faith, and of the Covenant of grace, a Sacrament in generall is an ordinance divine, a seale of the Covenant proper and peculiar to them that bee confederates. But what is peculiar to one Sacrament that agreeth not to another. What is proper to the sacraments of the old Testament, in respect of the manner of dispensation that agreeth not to the new, as if the Sacraments of the old Testament be with blood, obscure in signification, painfull in use, peculiar to one Nation, and to bee abolished, the Sacraments of the new Testament must be without blood, cleere for signification, easie for use, universall to all Nations, and perpetuall to continue in the Church for ever.

Circumcision and Baptisme are both Sacraments of divine institution, and so they agree in the substance of the things signified, the persons to whom they are to be administered, and the order of administration, if the right proportion bee observed. As circumcision sealed the entrance into the covenant the righteousness of faith, and circumcision of the heart: so doth Baptisme much more clearly: As *Abraham* and his household, and the infants of beleiving Jews were to be circumcised, so the faithful, their families, and their seed are to bee baptized. None must eate the passover who was not circumcised, women excepted, who were circumcised in the males. Nor may a man unbaptized be admitted to the Lords supper. Circumcision was but once applied by Gods appointment and the same holds in baptisme according to the will and good pleasure of God: But circumcision and baptisme agree not in their speciall forme, and manner of dispensation appointed of God. And in these things a reason cannot be drawn from the one to the other affirmatively. The males onely were to be circumcised as only capable of that signe: but males and females both ought to be baptized. The infants males were to be circumcised the *ex. 12. 2. 3. & 22.* eighth day because seven dayes they were legally uncleane. *7 Exo. 22. 30.* But the seed of the faithfull are not to bee reputed uncleane.

*Ergo*, no set tyme is appointed for baptisme. Circumcision as other Ceremonies did distinguish the Jewes from the Gentiles; but Christ now of two hath made one. Circumcision signified Christ to come, Baptisme is the seale of the New covenant made in Christ already come. And so in the degree of grace given, some difference may be put: The other differences alleadged in the considerations with the reasons thereof are not so cleere and undoubted: for Baptisme is not tyed to the first day of the weeke: and the Jewes might gather an Assembly on the eighth day as occasion required, and it might be appropriated to the Priests and Levites though done in private: But in whatsoever they agree or differ we mustooke to the institution and neither stretch it wider, nor draw it narrower then the Lord hath made it. For hee is the Institutor of the Sacraments according to his owne

owne good pleasure. And it is our part to learne of him, both to whom, how, and for what end the Sacraments are to be administred, how they agree, and wherein they differ. In all which we must affirme nothing but what God hath taught us, and as he hath taught us.

Secondly, as for the Proposition it selfe; certaine it is, Circumcision and the Pasche were to be administred onely to the visible members of the Church, i.e. to men in Covenant, professing the true faith; But that in *Abrahams* time none were visible members of the Church, which joyned not themselves in Church orders to the family of *Abraham*, wee have not learned. In the first Institution of Circumcision, we find that God gave it to *Abraham*, as the Seale of the Covenant formerly made with him: But of any Church covenant or order whereunto *Abrahams* family should enter before Circumcision we read not. *Melchizedeck*, *Lot*, *Iob*, &c. were not onely visible Beleevers under the Covenant of grace, but visible members of the Church, according to the order and dispensation of those times. Wee read not (you say) that *Melchizedeck*, *Lot* or *Iob* were circumcised, but that is no good reason to inferre negatively that they were not Circumcised. We read not that *Iohn* the Baptist, or the Apostles, or the 300. brethren were Baptized, wee must not forthwith conclude, that they were not initiated by that seale. Moreover, if they were not Circumcised, it may bee the Institution of that Sacrament was not knowne unto them, or the Authour of Circumcision (upon whose will and pleasure they must depend) did not command it unto them, or require that they should joyne themselves in Covenant with *Abrahams* family: and in that case if they had Circumcised themselves they had transgressed. But then the reason why they were not circumcised was not this, that they were not (as you speake) in Church order: but because Circumcision was appropriated to *Abrahams* family by divine Institution in some speciall and peculiar respects belonging to the manner of Administration. After the Church of the Jewes was constituted (when wee can no more imagine that there was a Church among the Gentiles, then that there are Christians among the Barbarians at this day) we finde none must be admitted to the Pasche that was not first Circumcised, but nothing was required of a stranger

*Etiam si dixerimus nullam legi ab Apostolis excommunicationem non tamen sequeretur ita esse, quum satis constet non omnium singularia Apostolorum gesta perscripta fuisse. Bez. de Presb. p. 7. Et si de Melchizedeck & Iobo qua hac adferuntur non sunt extra controversiam. Nam fœdere cum Abra. inito non excluduntur ij qui ante erant in fœdere sed accensentur fœderi. Ita autem se habuit Melchizedeck, &c. omnino enim consors promissionis divine fuit ante fœdus cum eo initum. Gen. 17. Iob vero & credens fuit promissionibus fœderis & de sententia veterum fuit circumcissus etiam hereditaria circumcissione a paterno maternoq; sanguine. Vt eleganter scribit author libri de verâ Circumcissione qui Hieron. ad scribitur. Iun. animadv. in Bellar. contrav. 4. lib. 3. cha. 16. not. 13.*

to circumcision, but that he professe the true faith, and avouch the God of *Abraham* to be his God, which of necessitie must be done before he could be reputed a visible Beleever, or under the Covenant of promise.

Thus a learned and reverend divine, Circumcision was a seale of the covenant, that God made with *Abraham* concerning Christ that should come as concerning the flesh of *Isaac* and so of *Jacob* of whom were the 12 tribes who were the Israelites, &c. *Rom. 9. 4. 5.* So that as in *Abraham*'s time none were bound to be Circumcised but those that were of his family as being borne there or bought, and so brought thither which were not of his seed: So afterwards none were bound to be Circumcised which were not borne in the family of *Jacob* and *Patriarchs*, or joyned to them. And after their comming out of *Egypt* none were bound to be Circumcised but the children of the Jewes (then the only Church of God,) and those that desired to joyne unto them. The summe is thus much, God gave circumcision to *Abraham* as a seale of the Covenant but whether it was given to other beleevers in his time it is (at least) a thing uncertaine. And if they were not Circumcised it was by reason of the speciall Institution of God, and peculiar manner of administration of the Covenant of promise which in some respect was proper, to the family of *Abraham*, and not common to all the visible members of the Church at that time in Church fellowship and order. Afterwards when there were none in covenant but the seed of *Jacob* or strangers professing the faith of *Abraham*, circumcision was not to be administered to any man who was not in Covenant nor any man to bee admitted to the Pascheover who was not circumcised. This is the most that can be said with any probability: But hence it will not follow by iust analogie or proportion, that the seed of the faithfull must not bee admitted to Baptisme, or visible beleevers be received to the Lords Supper unlesse they bee set members of some particular congregation united in Church order. Thirdly, presupposing therefore that *Melchizedeck*, *Lot* and *Iob*, were not Circumcised, we say there is not the like reason of Circumcision and Baptisme in this particular. For, first if Circumcision was ever appropriated to the family of *Abraham*, and might be communicated to other visible Beleevers, it was in the first Institution and administration; but in the first Institution and administration of Baptisme, it was not observed that beleevers should be first gathered into a politiicall body or Christian church membership, and then baptized. *John* the Baptist baptized such as came to him confessing their sins. The Apostles baptized Disciples, such as gladly received their doctrine, beleeved in Jesus Christ, and received the gifts of the holy Ghost, before they were gathered into Christian Church order, or made fit members of a Christian congregational Assembly.

2 If Circumcision was by speciall Institution given as a priviledge to the Males of *Abraham*'s Familie, *Melchizedecke*, *Iob*, *Lot*, and other visible Beleevers were not bound to joyne themselves as members to

to *Abrahams* familie, or desire and seek to be circumcised : But they that have received the doctrine of salvation, beleeve Christ, and professe the faith, are bound to seek, and desire the priviledge of the seals in an holy manner.

3. *Melchizedech*, *Job*, and *Lot* were not onely visible beleevers, but visible members of the Church, according to the manner of dispensing in those times : but the Seals ( as you confesse ) belong to all beleevers knit together in Church-Covenant.

4. If circumcision be appropriated to the family of *Abraham*, it is because the Covenant sealed by circumcision is peculiar to *Abrahams* posteritie, (*sc.*) that Christ should come as concerning the flesh, of *Isaac*. But Baptisme is the seal of the Covenant of grace without any peculiar or speciall tye or respect.

5. You contend, that Baptisme did belong to such beleevers as were members of the then Jewish Church, which cannot stand, if *Abrahams* familie did answer to a Christian societie or congregationall Assembly ; Just reason therefore may be given why circumcision was dispensed onely to the males of *Abrahams* familie, when baptisme is not to be limited onely to the set members of a particular societie ; and if this consideration be applied to the purpose, instead of saying, Circumcision and the Passeeover were to be administred onely to the members of the Church, you must say Circumcision was to be desired of or administred unto all the true approved visible members of the Church. And if there be the same reason of both, then all visible approved members of the Church must not desire nor be admitted to the seals, but this conclusion you will not acknowledge.

*Ans. 4. Consideration.*

They that are not capable of the Church censures, are not capable of the Church priviledges. but they that are not within Church-Covenant are not capable of Church censures. *Ergo.* The proposition is evident, The Assumption may be proved, *1 Corinth. 5. 12.* What have I to do to judge them that are without. Now to be without is not onely the case of Heathens and Excommunicates, but of some beleevers also, who though by externall union with Christ they are within the Covenant of grace, yet being not joyned externally to the visible bodie of Christ (a particular Church) are in regard of visible Church communion said to be without. To this purpose is this text alledged by other Divines also, as *Dr. Ames* Cas. of consci. *l. 4. c. 24. q. 1. resp. 5.*

*Reply.*

First, men are capable of Church censures in two respects, either in having the power of the keyes, and authoritie to dispense them according to God, or as subject to the censures of the Church. In the first sense, many are capable of Church priviledges that are not capable of Church censures, as the seed of Christian parents, children and women. You say you admit to the seales the knowne  
H  
anc

and approved, and orderly recommended members of any true Church: but to fellowship in the censures, admittance of members, and choice of Officers onely, the members of that particular Church whereof they and we (any of us) stand members. In the second sense also many are capable of Church priviledges who are not subject to Church censures: as the children of Christian parents are capable of baptisme, the known and approved members of any true Church are capable of the Seales in other Congregations among you who are not subject to the censures of that other Society. Spirituall communion in publick prayer is a Church priviledge, which is not denied to visible beleevers and godly persons, though not in Church order, and so not in subjection in your sense to Church censures.

Secondly, a person baptised is not baptised in that particular congregation onely, but into all Churches, and every particular Church where he cometh he hath all the priviledges of a baptised person in respect of his baptisme, and is so to be esteemed by them. Now the priviledge of a baptised person who is able to examine himself, and walketh in the truth, is to be admitted to the Lords Supper. All circumcised persons had right thereby to eat the Passeover in any societie, in the place which God should chuse to put his Name there. *Exod. 12. 4. 47. Dent. 16. 1, 2.* So all baptised persons have true and intire right to the Lords Supper in everie true Church where God hath set his Name.

Thirdly, there is not the same reason of every Church priviledge, for one may have right to some, who is not to meddle with others. The members of one societie may hear the Word, joyne in Prayer, and receive the Sacraments in another, when they are not to meddle in the election and ordination of their teachers. The Ministers of the Gospel may preach the Word, and administer the Sacraments in another congregation, and hereto he needs no other calling but that God offers an opportunity; there is much need of his help, and he is intreated, or hath leave from them in place or office; but he is not to admit members into the societie, or cast them out that be admitted. And if the Pastor of one Church shall preach or administer the Sacraments in another, contrary to the liking and approbation of the Society and Governours, though the act be irregular, it was never esteemed a nullitie; but if he shall presume to excommunicate the members of another societie, without the consent of the Church, and approbation of Pastors and Teachers, under whose charge and jurisdiction they live, it hath been judged a meer nullity. Therefore the proposition is not so evident as to be taken without prooffe, that they have no power to admit a beleever into communion in any Church priviledge who have no power to excommunicate.

Fourthly, that visible beleevers baptised into a true Church professing the true faith, and walking in holy obedience, and godly conversation, that *1. Cor. 5. 12.* they and their seed should be judged such as are without in the Apostles sense, because they be not externally joyned as set members to some particular congregation in Church-Covenant is affirmed, not proved.

1. It hath, and may fall out many times through the ignorance, rashness, or pride of a prevailing faction in the Church, that the true members of the Catholique Church, and the best members of the orthodox visible flock, or congregation of Christ may be no members of any distinct visible societie. And shall their posteritie be esteemed Aliens and Strangers from the Covenant, and debarred from the Sacraments, because their parents are unjustly seperated from the inheritance of the Lord? Surely as parents unjustly excommunicated do continue still not onely true members of the invisible body; but visible members of the flock of Christ: so the right of Baptisme doth belong to the Infants of such parents, though not actuall and constant members of this or that present assembly in Church order.

2. If they be without, because no members of a politike bodie or spirituall fellowship: then all members which are of one societie are without to another: For they that be not of the bodie are not capable of Church censures, or subject to the authoritie one of another. And so not being under the judgement of that particular Church to it they are without; whereas in ancient and moderne times distinct Societies did communicate together, admit and receive each other as brethren, to testifie their fellowship in the faith. If the reason whereupon the Apostle saith the Church of *Corinth* was not to judge them that were without, was because they were not within the Church of *Corinth*, and so not under their censure or judgement: this holds true of them that be of another society admitted to the Sacrament, as well as of such as be no set members desiring to be received to the Lords Supper.

3. (The fornicators of this world) do they not explaine whom the Apostle pointeth unto by the title of being without, *ver. 10. 11.* such as had not received the covenant of grace.

4. Church order is necessarie we denie not; but this order that a man should be a constant and set member of a particular societie by covenant, to make him a true member of the visible Church, or to give him title or interest to the publick order, this is not taught of God.

5. *Paul* divides all men into two ranks, the first and greater without; the last and lesser within: but that beleevers who have received the holy Ghost, and have been baptised into Jesus Christ, that they and their children should be reckoned among them that are without, that we read not in this nor any other Scripture, but in phrase of Scripture hereticks themselves  
*1. Job. 1. 19.*  
*1. Cor. 11. 19.*  
 are within the Church.

6. The beleevers not yet gathered (as the godly learned think) into a certain distinct body are called beleevers, brethren, disciples; but that they should be comprehended under them that are without, it hath not been beleeved in the Church.

7. Without (saith the Apostle whether alluding to this place or not, let others  
 H 2 judge)

Rev. 22. 15. *ἐξου* judge) are dogs, inchanters, whoremongers, not such as are called faithfull and holy, walking in integritie, beleeving in and professing Jesus Christ to be their Saviour.  
 3. 7. *οἱ ἑξῶθεν*,  
*Script. et b-*  
*nici apud patres audiunt. οἱ ἑξῶθεν ὁ θεὸς*, Matth. 8. 11. Ephes. 2. 12. Rob. against Ber. p. 101.

8. They that are without in the Apostles sense are Aliens from the Commonwealth of Israel, strangers from the covenant of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world: but we hope you will not passe such rash and unadvised censure upon your brethren, who be not gathered into your societie as set members.

9. Let the interpretation stand, and he is without, not onely who is no set member of some congregationall Assembly, but he that is not subject to the censure of the community of that particular combination few or many, with, or without Officers. And so all the reformed Churches in the world who ascribe the power of the keyes to the Presbitry or Classes, and not to the community, and some amongst your selves (if not the most) shall be without also.

And therefore we cannot think approved Christians desiring to be received unto the Sacrament, either to be without, or uncapable of Church censures for the time being if they should offend, though not set members of any particular congregation: for desiring baptism for their children or themselves to be admitted to the Lords Supper for the time they put themselves under the ordinance of Jesus Christ there. And as they are members for the time, so they might be proceeded against according to the rule prescribed by our Saviour, as they would proceed with an offending member.

10. If upon just and good reason a passage of Scripture can be cleared to prove that for which it was never alledged by any writer, we are not to except against any truth of God, because it wanteth mans testimonie. Onely if we desire credit in such cases, our reasons must be weightie and convincing. But for your exposition of this text of Scripture, as yet we have not observed one substantiall ground, or approved author to be alledged. Doctor Ames shewing the necessitie of Christians joyning themselves to some particular Church, giveth this reason, *Quoniam alias fieri non potest quin conturbentur signa illa quibus fideles ab infidelibus discerni possunt.* 1. Cor. 5. 12. But herein Dr. Ames manifestly sheweth that by them that are [without] heathens, and unbelievers must be understood, and not beleivers and godly men though of no particular settled societie for the time, for thus we conceive he argueth. The signes and evidences whereby the faithfull are to be discerned from unbelievers, must not be confounded: but unlesse Christians make themselves actuall members of a Societie or Church, the signes whereby the faithfull are discerned from unbelievers, will be obscured and darkned. And if this be his reason how can that text of Scripture be alledged for confirmation, unlesse by [men without] Infidels be understood. Again Doctor Ames  
 in

in the same book, *lib. 4. ca. 27.* speaking of Infants to be received, it is required (he saith) that they be in the covenant of grace in respect of outward profession, and estimation in respect of their parents, and that there is hope they shall be instructed and brought up in the same covenant: 2. That Baptisme doth most properly belong to those infants whose parents, at least one of them is in the Church, and not without, because baptisme is a signe and scale of the covenant of grace. 3. That children that are cast forth are in charitie to be esteemed the children of Christian parents, when there is no just cause of presuming the contrary, that in admitting unto baptisme a difference must be put betweene the Infants of those who in some sort belong to the Church, but openly break the covenant of God, and the children of others.

1. Because a distinction must be observed in holy things betweene the cleane and uncleane; seeing else the ordinance of God cannot be preserved from all pollution. To say nothing of that which he addeth touching the baptisme of Infants borne in fornication, excommunication, and Papiists, which is more then sufficient to cleare his meaning in the former passage. To this may be added that he holdeth it not necessarie that Christians should gather themselves into a particular society, but as opportunitie and occasion should offer it self. So that it was never his mind to censure them who be not gathered into Church-Covenant, because they want means or opportunitie as men *without* in the Apostles sense.

His judgement is further manifested in his second Manuduction, *pa. 33.* So many parish Assemblies of *England* (saith he) as have any competent number of good Christians in them, united to worship God ordinarily in one Societie, so many have the essence and integrall forme of a visible Church, and all they have intire right to Christ, and to all the meanes of injoying him, however they are defective in the puritie of their combination, and in the compleat free exercising of their power, whereupon a reverend \* Elder now among you \* Mr. *Io. D. Apol. Sess. 40. exam. p. 182.* draws this conclusion, *Ergo* to dischurch them wholly, and to separate from them as no Churches of Christ, or to denie baptisme to the Infants of their known members is not warrantable by any rule of Scripture that I know, nor justified by any assertion or practise.

*Ans. 5. Consideration.*

**VV**E may adde hereunto for a fifth Consideration, the evill and pernicious consequences of extending communion in Church priviledges beyond the bounds of Church fellowship: for thus, 1. The extraordinarie office of the Apostles, and the ordinarie office of Pastors and Teachers will be much confounded, if the latter be as illimited as the former in the execution of their office beyond the bounds of their own particular Churches. 2. The distinction of Church assemblies from the confused multitude is abrogated, if without

membership in a particular Church the parents may communicate with the Churches in the Lords Supper, and their seed in baptisme. 3. The Church shall indanger the profaning of the seals, and want one speciall meanes whereby the grace and pietie of men may be discerned and made known; for if without respect to their Church estate men of approved pietie (as you say) are to be admitted to fellowship in the seales, how shall their pietie be approved to the Church not by their own report of themselves alone without attestation of such as are approved by the Church; and how can such beare witnesse to their approved pietie, who against light refuse to professe subjection to the Gospel of Christ by orderly joyning themselves in fellowship with some approved Church of Christ as members thereof when they have opportunitie thereunto, seeing such fellowship is an action of pietie required of all beleevers in the second Commandment; and true pietie frameth mens spirits to have respect to all Gods Commandments. And we have had much experience of it, that men of approved pietie in the judgement of some have been found too light, not onely in the judgement of others, but even of their own consciences, when they have come to triall in offering themselves to be members of Churches, with such a blessing hath God followed this order of taking hold of Church-Covenant by publick profession of faith and repentance before men be admitted to the seales; but this meanes of discoverie of mens pietie and sinceritie would be utterly lost, if men should be admitted unto the Lords table without entring in Church-fellowship.

*Reply.*

**I**F it be repugnant to Divine Institution to admit of approved Christians lawfully baptized, walking in the faith, members of the visible Churches, and partakers of Church priviledges among us to the Lords Supper, or their children to baptisme, because they be not entred into Church fellowship according to your order, then it is unlawfull though no such evill consequences are to be feared.

What though this inconvenience do arise sometimes through mans corruption it should be otherwise; and we must ever consider of the nature of Gods ordinances in their right use, &c. *Rob. against Ber. pa. 213.*

But if by accident some abuse should fall out, the evill is to be prevented by all lawfull meanes: but the faithfull are not utterly to be debarred of the order of God, whereto they have right and title by his free grant and gracious invitation. And no question but the seales of the Covenant may be profaned many times when it is not in the power of the dispensers to put back or expell such as profane them. If the Congregation shall admit of, or tolerate an unworthy member, the Churches priviledges are profaned; and yet we conceive

*Respondit caam nullam fuisse cur Io. Bapt. istos accedentes rejiceret ut qui ad ejus bapt. venirent cum peccatorum agnitione nec ipse potestatem haberet eos excommunicandi etiam si fuissent excom. digni. Beza de Presb. p. 23.*

conceive you will say the Pastor is not faulty in receiving him, when the Church doth tolerate unworthily, if he do what pertaineth to his office to keep the holy things of God from contempt. But in the case propounded there is no feare or danger of such consequences necessarie to follow: for the question is not of all sorts at randame, but of Christians professing the faith intirely, lawfully baptized, known, and approved to the consciences of the wise and judicious visible members of the Churches of Christ among us often admitted to the Lords Table, whether these either sufficiently knowne unto you, or orderly recommended may upon desire and suite themselves be admitted to communicate in the Lords Supper, and their children to be baptized, what feare is there now that the extraordinarie office of the Apostles, and the ordinarie office of Pastors and Teachers shall be much or little confounded? Is this to take as illimited power as the Apostles did in the execution of their office? How shal this tend to abrogate the distinction of Church Assemblies from the confused multitude? or how is the profanation of the seals thereby indangered?

*Recte sane quis illos à sacris prohibuerat, &c. etsi sit tam sceleratus quispiam quam esse existimatur tum si tale iudicium sibi quisque sumat quæ mox fuerit Ecclesie facies? sed præterea tenendum est istud in hoc negotio inita cuiuspiam conf. non probabillas rectam alterius conscientiam. Id. pa. 26. Id in privatorum arbitrio relinquere ut alibi diximus & periculosum nimis & toti Ecclesie valde damnosum fuisset. Id. p. 80.*

You aske if without respect to their Church estate men of approved pietie (as we say) are to be admitted into fellowship in the seals, how shall their pietie be approved to the Church, not by their own report of themselves alone, &c. Do not you say the same, That there be many godly persons, and of approved pietie among us, who are not approved by their own report of themselves (unlesse ye will take their wisdom, faith, patience, courage, constancie, and holinesse of life for their report) approved, we say by as ample and sufficient testimonie as the Apostles exacted of them whom they received into Church fellowship, or can be required of members admitted unto the priviledges of the Church, if men will follow the Lords direction, or as you can give to ordinances members of your societies. You professe high respect of your brethren in old England, but it seemes you judge them insufficient to give orderly testimonie of the sinceritie and uprightnesse of approved Christians, well known unto them, and living among them, which two cannot well agree. We speake not of such who against light refuse to professe subjection to the Gospel of Christ to joyne themselves orderly in fellowship with some approved Church: But of such as do with all readinesse professe subjection, and walk accordingly, and heartily desire to joyn themselves to the most pure and compleat Churches so farre as they are taught of God, or have opportunitie thereunto. And if exception be taken against them onely, who refuse against light to submit themselves to the Gospel; by what rule do you proceed when you judge men to refuse against light, or debarre them who do not refuse against conscience, but for lack

lacke of opportunitie. Nodoubt (as you say) but now and then a man of approved pietie in the judgement of some may be found too light, yea and in the judgement of his owne conscience when he hath come to triall. And no question but many have been admitted by the Church, who indeed and truth are much too light; and some refused who deserved better then they that cast them off, we will not dispute what errours have been committed, nor what blessing ye have found upon your proceedings; we heartily beseech the Lord to keep your congregation pure, make his ordinances more and more effectually, go before you in the way wherein you should walk, and multiply his mercies upon you in the same. But this we are perswaded, and therefore we speak, that in debarring godly Christians from the Lords Supper, and much more the children of those parents who are in covenant with God, from holy baptisme you exceed your commission you have received from God, and go beyond your due bounds. And notwithstanding your circumspection more worthy and faithfull Christians have been denied when of lesse worth, and meaner sufficiencies have passed, and been by you received.

*Answ. 6. Consid.*

**N**One have power to dispenſe the Seales but they that are called to the office of Ministry; and no man can be so called till first there be a Church to call him, seeing the power of calling Ministers is given by Christ unto the Church; and thence it follows, that all those that desire to partake of the Seales, are bound to joyne themselves in Church state, that so they may call a Minister to dispenſe the Seales unto them. And this dutie by the appointment of God lieth not onely upon some Christians, but equally upon all: *ergo* no Christian can expect by the appointment of God to partake in the Seals till he have joyned himselfe in Church fellowship, and in the call of the Minister. And indeed seeing a Church, and a Minister called by the Church, is of such necessitie for the dispenſing of the seales, it may seeme unreasonable that some Christians should be bound to become a Church, and to call a Minister that so the seales may be dispenſed, and other men (when this is done) have equall libertie to the seales who refuse to joyne unto the Church.

*Reply.*

**T**His conclusion is not to the question propounded, for we speake of such as cannot, not of such as refuse to joyne themselves unto the Church; or if they do not joyne, it is not out of contempt or wilfull neglect of Gods ordinance, or desire of carnall libertie, and not to be in subjection to Christ, but for lacke of opportunitie, or through their fault that should admit them but do not. For if in any of your Churches you shall require more of members to be admitted then Christ the chiefe Shepherd of the flock doth, or presse that upon their consciences

ences which they cannot consent unto, if they shall sit downe quietly for the time and serve God in private, when they cannot enjoy Church priviledges, it is your fault and not theirs. And they may more justly challenge the Assemblie as injurious and tyrannicall, then you them as wilfull despisers of Gods ordinance. We accuse not the wisdom and discretion of your Churches, but we know the zealous multitude may sometimes be rash; And when a reason is craved of your judgement, why you do debarre the most knowne and approved Christians which come over, and their children from the seals of the covenant, we dislike you should put this note upon them, as if against light they refused orderly to subject themselves to the Gospel of Jesus Christ: What warrant you have thus to censure, what use of this manner of dispute we leave it to your godly wisdom to judge. In the Consideration it self there are many Propositions couched together, which we must examine severally as they have reference to the conclusion intended, and then try whether it can be raised from them.

The first Proposition, That none have power to dispence the Seales, but they that are called to the office of Ministry, is freely granted.

The second, That no man can be so called till first there be a Church to call him, needeth explication. For by the Church you must understand the community of the faithfull, as they are one bodie, without officers or guides. And such a Church there cannot be without a Ministry to call and admit them into Church-fellowship. The Apostles baptised not themselves, but by the help of others, & those not called of the people to be baptised, *1 Cor. 1. 17.* The Apostles appointed by electio, Elders in every city or Church. And so there was a Church before Elders were set over it, but this Church was a societie of beleivers by baptisme admitted into Church-fellowship. There can be no Church to call a Minister to feed the flock, and dispence the seals, till they have received the doctrine of salvation intirely, and by the seale of initiation be solemnly received into the societie of men professing Christ. A company of men converted to the faith being unbaptized, may and ought to desire baptisme, but they have not power to elect and chuse one among themselves to dispence the seales unto the rest for ought is to be found in Scripture: The Churches constitution into which Christians are to gather themselves must be Apostolicall, and not one day or houre younger in nature and forme of it, thus the first Church of the New Testament. But it can never be shewed in Scripture that any societie of unbaptised persons did first chuse from among them a Pastor or Teacher by whom they might be baptised: you cannot produce one example or other prooffe in the Scripture, of one man teaching the Gospel ministerially but he was baptised, and a member of a true Church, or of a societie who made choice of a Pastor and teacher, but they were baptised persons.

The third Proposition, That the power of calling Ministers is given by Christ unto the Church, must also be rightly understood: For by the Church must be

*Rob. against  
Bern. likely  
veiwed. p. 40.*

meant the societie of the faithfull, not onely ingrafted into Christ, set into the state of salvation, and made heires apparent of everlasting blessednesse, but solemnly entred and inrolled into the societie of Christs flock, and acknowledged members by free admission into the Seales of the Covenant. Again, by the Church if we speake of ordinary calling, must not be understood of the faithfull alone, but their guides and officers together with them, who are to goe before the rest, and to direct and governe them in their choice. Neither can we say, that any two or three beleivers linked together in societie doe make such a Church, as to whom the calling of the Minister doth belong: but that right was given by Christ to such Churches as were gathered and established by the Apostles. The Church hath a Ministry of calling one whom Christ hath described, that from Christ he may have power of Office given him in the vacant place. But the office, gift, and power of the Ministry, is immediately from Christ and not from the Church. The Church doth neither virtually nor formally give power to her Officers but ministerially onely, as ministering to him who hath power and vertue to conferre it. And this right of election is so given to the communitie and body of the people, that if they have consented to give away their right, or if it be taken injuriously from them, the calling of the Minister notwithstanding may be true, and ministeriall acts done by him that is thrust upon the people without their consent may be effectuell to their salvation. A wrong it is altogether to debarre the godly of their consent in the calling of such as must watch for their soules; but it makes not the calling it selfe a meere nullitie; for then many Churches in the world within a few hundred yeares after Christ should have wanted both ministry and Sacraments, and they would have been altogether destitute of both ministry and Sacraments for many hundred yeares.

The fourth, That all those who desire to partake in the Seales, are bound to joyne themselves together in Church-state, that so they may call a Minister to dispence the Seales unto them, will not follow from the former rightly understood. We deny not but Christians are bound to joyne themselves together in holy fellowship, if God give them opportunitie: but they must partake in the Seales before they can joyne themselves together in Church-state. And such as for lack of meanes and opportunitie cannot joyne themselves into such an estate, or be dispersed by persecution, or be destitute of Pastors and Teachers, may for a time desire and seek to have the seales dispenced unto them by the Pastors and Teachers of other Societies, with whom they hold communion in the faith. The people also who are deprived of right and libertie to choose their Pastor, may desire and seek to have the Seales dispenced unto them by him who is set over them. If a company of Infidells should be converted to the faith, they must desire to partake in the ordinances of grace before they could joyne together in a Church-way to call a Minister of their own, who might administer the Sacraments unto them.

them. To make Disciples and baptize are joyned together. And if these Propositions be allowed for current, a nation or people plunged into Idolatry or Infidelitie, or otherwise dischurched, cannot by ordinary meanes recover into a Church-estate, wherein they may lawfully and according to Gods appointment desire or expect that the Seales of the Covenant should be dispenced to them. John 4. 2.  
Math. 28. 19.

The fifth Proposition riseth beyond measure, that no Christian can expect by the appointment of God to partake in the Seales till he have joyned himselfe in Church-fellowship and the calling of the Minister. Wee conceive you will not say that children and women have to doe in the call of the Minister ( for women they are debarred by their sex as from ordinary Prophefying, so from any other dealing wherein they take authority over the man) 1 Cor. 14. 34,  
35. If some part of the Congregation doe not consent in the election of Pastors or Teachers, have they not right to expect to have the Seales of the Covenant dispenced to themselves or their seede? If the people be deprived of that libertie to choose or call their Minister, must they seperate from the ordinances of worship there dispenced, and from the Congregations as no true Churches? If some persons by the providence of God live in such places where they cannot joyne in Church-fellowship and call of the Minister ( as suppose the Christian wife, childe, or servant ) nor lawfully remove to any such Societie must they and their children live as strangers and aliens from the Covenant of grace, wherein they may not expect to partake of the Seales? If Infidels be converted to the faith, must they not partake in the Seales, because they cannot joyne in Church-fellowship and call of the Minister, before they be admitted to Baptisme? Tit. 2. 11, 12.  
Rob. ag. Ber.  
pa. 206.

Here you say the people must joyne together in the call of the Minister, before they can lawfully desire to be admitted to the Seales. And another hath zealously affirmed ( It is a presumptuous sin in any to choose an Officer not trained up and tryed ( *scil.* ) in the debating, discussing, carrying, and contriving of Church-affaires, as also in admonition, exhortation, and comfort, publicly occasioned and so manifested ) Lay these two together, and let it be considered how long many a poore soule converted to the faith must be compelled to want the comfort of Gods ordinances. Besides, if a people be joyned together in Church-fellowship, and have called a Pastor to feed and watch over them, wee desire ( not words but ) proove why the poore dispersed Christians wanting means or opportunitie to joyn themselves together into societie, ought not to desire, and that others be not bound in conscience to afford them the comfort of Gods ordinances. Rob. ag. Bern.  
pa. 239.

If the Propositions may stand for good, I feare we shall scarce finde that ever in ordinary way, the Sacraments were lawfully dispenced or received in the Christian Churches of God since the first foundation of them. Now the premises  
being

being liable to so many exceptions, the conclusion to be laid upon them, will fall of it selfe. And thereunto wee oppose the direct contrary. That Infidels converted to the faith, or godly Christians, formerly visible beleivers, knowne and approved members of Congregations professing the intire faith, and joyning together in the lawfull use of the Sacraments for substance according to the Institution, may and ought to desire and expect the Seales of the Covenant to be dispensed to them, and to their seede, though for the present they be not joyned into such Church-state and call of Ministers as you require.

*Answer 7. Consideration.*

**T**Hat our practise may not be censured as novell and singular, give us leave to produce a President of the like care observed and approved by publick countenance of State in the dayes of *Edward 6.* of blessed and famous memory, who in the yeare 1550. granted *Johannes Alasco* a learned Noble man of *Poland* under the great Seale of *England*, libertie to gather a Church of strangers in *London*, and to order themselves according as they should finde to be most agreeable to the Scriptures. Among other godly orders established in that Church, that which concerned the Administation of Baptisme to prevent the prophanation of it we will repeate in *Alascos* owne words. *Baptisme in our Church* (saith he) *is administred in the publique Assembly of the Church after the publique Sermon: for seeing Baptisme doth so belong to the whole Church that none ought to be driven thence, which is a member of the Church, nor to be admitted to it who is not a member of it, truly it is equall that that should be performed publicly in the Assembly of the whole Church, which belongs to the whole Church in common.* Againe, he addeth; *Now seeing our Churches are by Gods blessing so established by the Kings Majestie, that they may be as it were one parish of strangers dispersed throughout the whole Citie, or one body corporate (as it is called in the Kings grant) and yet all strangers doe not joyne themselves to our Church, yea there are those who while they avoyde all Churches, will pretend to the English Churches that they are joyned with us, and to us that they are joyned to the English Churches, and so doe abuse both them and us, lest the English Churches and the Ministers thereof should be deceived by the impostures of such men (and that under colour of our Churches) wee doe baptize their Infants alone who have adjoynded themselves to our Churches by publique confession of their faith, and observation of Ecclesiasticall discipline. And that our Churches may be certaine that the Infants that are to be baptized are their seede, who have joyned themselves thereto in manner aforesaid, the father of the Infant to be baptized (if possible he can) or other men and women of notable credit in the Church, doe offer the Infant to Baptisme, and doe publicly professe that it is the seede of the Church, yet wee suffer no stranger to offer Infants to Baptisme in our Churches, who hath not made publique profession of his faith, and willingly submitted himselfe to the Discipline of the Church, lest otherwise they who present their children to Baptisme, might in time plead that they*  
belong

belong to our Churches, and so should deceive the English Churches and their Ministers. To those which presented Infants to Baptisme, they propounded three questions, the first was; *Are these Infants which yee offer the seed of this Church, that they may lawfully be here baptized by our Ministry? &c.* Answer, *Yea.* This Instance is the more to be regarded, because *Alasco* affirmeth in the preface of that Book, that this libertie was by the King granted to them out of his desire to settle alike reformation in the *English Churches*, which in effect you see the same with our practise in this particular.

Reply.

THE practise of the Church of strangers in *London*, recorded by *John Alasco*, is farre different from your judgement and practise, not in some by-circumstances, but in the maine point in question; for your judgement is that true visible beleivers, baptized and partakers of the Lords Supper in other Churches not yet gathered into Church-estate or fellowship, have no right or interest in the Seales, ( they nor their seede ) But this Church of strangers held no such opinion as their own words ( which you have omitted ) doe plainly speake. And *Paul* testifyeth ( say they ) that by Christs Ordinance the Church it selfe without exception of any member of it, is to be accounted cleane or holy by the ministry of Baptisme. Whence we may easily see, that Baptisme doth neither belong to those who are altogether without the Church, nor to be denyed to any member of the Church. Secondly, They held communion with the Church of *England* as one and the same with theirs. For so they professe: Yet neverthelesse, that we may openly shew that the *English Churches* and ours are one and the same Church ( though we differ somewhat from them both in language and Ceremonies ) We doe not refuse that the *English* may as publick witnesses of the Church offer the Infants of our members to Baptisme in our Churches, if they have both the use of our language and a certain testimony of their piety. As in like manner our members are accustomed to offer the Infants of the *English* to Baptisme in the *English Churches*. If your judgement be this of the *English Churches*, your judgement in acknowledging us members of true Churches, and practise in debarring visible beleivers and their seede from the Seales, are opposite the one to the other. Thirdly, This order was observed by them to prevent the impostures of some, who whilst they avoyded all Churches, pretended to the *English*, that they were joyned to the strangers, and to the strangers that they were joyned to the *English*. But you debarre knowne Christians who desire to joine themselves with you, not to prevent impostures of them who avoyde all Churches: yea, you debarre them as men having no right to the Sacraments, because they be not in Church-fellowship: and herein you can shew no president ancient or moderne, either from Scripture or Monuments of the Church: And as your practise is without example, so without warrant from the word of God. And this is the

maine reason why we cannot consent unto you in this particular which we thus propound,

*I Reason.*

**T**Hat sacred order which God hath set in his visible Church for all his Saints to keep and walk by, that is religiously to be observed. But for men to set up that as a necessarie order which God never allowed, approved, or commanded, is great presumption. Now the Lord hath not ordained that a man should be a set member of a particular Societie, or body politique of faithfull people joyned together in spirituall Church-fellowship by Covenant, before he be admitted unto the Lords Supper, or that the parents should be actuall visible set members of some particular distinct body before their children be baptised. They that beleve in Jesus Christ have received the word of promise and walk therein, they and their children are within the Covenant, and have right and title to the Seales of the Covenant, but in their order, the Infants to baptisme, parents baptised, to the Lords Supper. And if in that state by divine grant they have interest to the Sacraments, the Church in debarring them because they be not yet grown into one distinct separate societie of mutuall covenant, doth exceed the bounds of her commission. For a ministeriall power onely is committed to the Church to admit or refuse them who are to be admitted or refused by authoritie from God: But the Church if she thrust beleiving parents from the Supper of the Lord, and their seed from baptisme; she denieth these benefits to them who by the grace and gift of God have lawfull right and title thereto.

**I.** For first, the baptisme of *John* was true baptisme, and truly administred by him: And they that were baptized by him received the seales of the Covenant, and were esteemed members of the visible Church: But *John* never demanded of them who came to his baptisme whether they were entred

*Matth 3 6,7.*

into spirituall fellowship by mutuall covenant one with another. This was not then knowne to be a necessarie and essentiall point in the lawfull, due, and orderly administration of the Sacrament. The disciples of our Saviour

*1ob. 4 2. and*

*3. 22.*

*Matth. 28 19.*

*20.*

made and baptised disciples professing the faith, but not combined into Church-state or fellowship. The Apostles commission was first to teach the Gentiles, and then to baptise them having received their doctrine. And this they carefully observed in the execution of their ministry upon grounds and reasons common to them and us: for as soone as any man or number of men gladly received the doctrine of salvation, and gave their names to Jesus Christ, if they desired to be baptised forthwith they accepted them, never excepting, that they were no set members of a distinct visible congregation. When the first 3000. converts, being pricked in their consciences,

*Act. 2. 37, 38.*

came to *Peter*, and the rest of the Apostles, saying. *Men and brethren, what shall we do?* *Peter* returns this answer, *Repent and be baptised every*

every one of you in the Name of Jesus, &c. For to you is the promise made, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, &c. As soon as the Samaritanes beleaved, Philip who preached the things that concerned the kingdom of God, they were baptised both men and women. When the Eunuch asked of Philip, See here is water, what doth let me to be baptised? he answereth not if thou beest first received as a set member into a visible congregation thou mayest: but if thou beleevest with all thy heart, thou mayest. Can any man forbid water (saith Peter, speaking of the Gentiles upon whom was powred the gift of the holy Ghost) that these should not be baptised who have received the gift of the holy Ghost as well as we? At that time it was not held a bar sufficient to keep them from the Sacrament of baptisme, because they were not set members of a distinct societie, which had it been essentiall to the lawfull and orderly administration of the Sacraments, questionlesse it had been observed in the first Institution and administration of them. Annanias baptised Paul before he was any set member of a congregational Assembly. Lydia and her household, the Jaylor and his house were baptised without regard to their Church-estate. For in the same night which he was converted, he was baptized with all his household. And this was done not by the Apostles onely upon speciall dispensation, but by others upon grounds and reasons common to them, and all ages, viz. because they were disciples, beleaved, gladly received the Word, had received the holy Ghost, were called, and the promise was made to them, and to their seed, even to all them that were as farre off.

*neminem qui velit profiteri nomen Christi ne infantes quidem Christianorum hominum, &c. Scot. conf. c. 23.*

Now if the Apostles dispensed the seales to them that were not in Church-fellowship, upon common grounds, it is not essentiall to the lawfull dispensation of the seales, that all partakers should be under such a covenant. If the baptised disciples, beleivers, such as gladly received the Word, and had received the gift of the holy Ghost, then the seals of the Covenant belong unto such, and by the grace of God they have right and title unto those priviledges.

2. As we received the Sacraments from God by divine Institution; so must we learne from him, how and to whom the same are to be administred, observing what he hath commanded without addition or diminution. But we have learned from Christ the Author of Baptisme, and the constant practise of the Apostles (the first dispensers of these holy seales who best understood the mind and pleasure of the Lord herein) that such as be called of God to whom the promise is made, who have received the gifts of the holy Ghost, beleaved in the Lord

*Act. 8. 12.*

*Act. 8. 47.*

*& 11. 16. 17.*

*Act 8 37.*

*Act. 10 47.*

*and 11. 16.*

*17.*

*Act. 9. 18.*

*Act. 16. 14.*

*33.*

*1. Cor. 3. 17.*

*Matth. 28. 19.*

*Act. 2. 41. and*

*8. 12, 13, 37.*

*Helv. conf. c. 10.*

*Gallic. Sect. 35.*

*Anglic. & ab eo*

*Belgie. act. 34 Zenger. conf. de Bapt. infant. pro. 44.*

*Argent. conf. ca. 17.*

*Saxon. confes. ca. 14.*

*Palab. conf. Sect. ad*

*usum vero ipsum, &c.*

Lord Jesus, professed their faith in him, and repentance for sins past with purpose of amendment for the time to come, that such have right unto, and desiring it ought to be received unto Baptisme, and are greatly wronged if they be deprived of that unspeakable benefit.

3. By a lively faith a man is made a living member of Jesus Christ, and hath internall communion with him by the intire profession of Christian faith joyned with conformity of life in righteousness, and holiness, and fellowship of love, he is a member of the visible congregation or flock of Christ, though no set member of a free distinct independant Societie. And Baptisme is the seale of our admission into the congregation or flock of Christ; but not evermore of our receiving into this or that particular societie as set members thereof. This latter is accidentall to baptisme, not essentiall. It may fall out to be so, but it is not ever necessarie; nor is the Sacrament to be denyed, nor can we say it is imperfectly administred where it cannot be attained. For the Catholique Church is one intire bodie, made up by the collection and agregation of all the faithfull unto the unity thereof; from which union there ariseth unto every one of them such a relation to, dependance upon that Church Catholique as parts use to have in respect of the whole. And this holds true, not onely of sound beleivers in respect of internall fellowship with Christ their head, and so one with another; but of all men professing the true and intire doctrine of faith and salvation in respect of them that hold and professe the same faith of Christ, and worship God according to his will; whereupon it followeth that neither particular persons, nor particular guides, nor particular Churches are to worke as severall divided bodies by themselves, but are to teach, and be taught; and to do all other duties as parts conjoyned to the whole, and members of the same flock or societie in generall: And so beleivers professing the faith, and walking in holiness, may and ought to be admitted to the Seales as actuall members of the Church of Christ, and sheep of his pasture, though not set members of one congregationall Church.

4. Not to insist upon this here, that it hath and may fall out many times through ignorance, rashness, or pride, of a prevailing faction in the Church, that the true members of the Catholique Church, and the best members of the Orthodox visible flock, or Church of Christ, may be no actuall members of any distinct Societie, and shall they for this be accounted men out of Covenant, and their posteritie be esteemed aliens and strangers: but if they be in Covenant, then are they holy in respect of the Covenant, and their children holy as pertaining to the Covenant, and have right to the Sacrament of initiation. Thus Mr. *Rob.* frameth the argument. The Sacrament of Baptisme is to be administred by Christs appointment, and the Apostles example onely to such as are (externally, and so far as men can judge) taught and made disciples, do receive the Word gladly, do beleieve, and so professe, have received the holy Ghost, and

*Rob.* against  
*Ber.* *sa.* 92.  
*Matth.* 28. 19.  
*Act.* 2. 41.  
& 8. 12 13 37.  
and 10. 47.  
and 2. 39.

to their seed. And thus the Church of God ever since the Apostles 1 Cor. 7. 19. dayes understood the covenant and promise, and their practise in receiving beleevers and their seed to the Seales of the Covenant was answerable, as might be shewed at large, if it was not a thing confessed. Hereunto you answer.

Answer.

**V**Here the holy Ghost is given and received (which was the case of the Centurion) and where faith is professed according to Gods ordinance (which was the case of the rest) there none may hinder them from being baptised, viz. by such as have power to baptise them. In the Instances given baptism was administred either by Apostles or Evangelists, not ordinary Pastors: the persons baptised, if they were members of Churches, had a right to baptism in their state, and the Apostles being Officers of all Churches might dispense the seales to them where ever they came, which yet will not warrant ordinary Officers to do the same. Nor is it improbable but that all these were in Church-order, *Act. on Act. 18. 1.* is of opinion, that the Centurion had a constituted Church in his house; the Eunuches coming to Jerusalem to worship, *Act. 8. 27.* argueth him to be a Profelyte, and member of the Jewish Church not yet dissolved: and therefore upon the profession of the Christian faith capable of Church priviledges at that time. As for *Lydia* and the Gaylor it appeareth that in the beginning of the Gospel there was a Church at *Philippi* which communicated with *Paul* as concerning giving and receiving: As he expressly saith, before his departure was from *Macedonia*, which departure was immediately upon the Gaylor's conversion. In which respect what should hinder that *Lydia* and the Gaylor should first be joyned to the Church, and then to be baptised though it be not mentioned in that story? As neither there is mention of a Christian Church, which *Paul* mentioneth in his Epistle to the *Philippians*. At least it is probable that *Lydia* was a member of the Jewish Church, because she is said to be one that worshipped God. But if any man think they were not members of any Church yet baptised, though we see not how it will be proved, yet if it were so, the object doth no whit weaken the argument, which speaketh of the ordinary dispensation of the seales, and not of what was done in an extraordinary way. So that suppose that in the cases alledged, baptism was dispensed to some that were not in Church-fellowship, yet the examples of the Apostles and Evangelists in so doing will not warrant ordinary Pastors to do the like. The reason of the difference why Apostles and Evangelists might administer Baptism out of Church-order, whereas Pastors and Teachers may not, is double. 1. Because their calling gave them illimited power over all men, especially Christians wheresoever they came. But we do not find that ordinarie Pastors and Teachers can do an act of power, but onely over their own Church, which hath called them to watch over them in the Lord. 2. Because they were

assisted with an immediate direction and guidance of the holy Ghost, in the places of their administration in the cases alledged. But ordinary Church-Officers are to walke according to ordinary rules of the Scripture in the dispensation of the Seales, and not to expect immediate inspirations and extraordinary revelations for their helpe in such cases. This difference between Apostles and ordinary Church Officers must needs be acknowledged, or otherwise a man might from their example justifie Baptisme in private houses.

*Reply.*

**T**HIS Answer stands of many parts, wherein things doubtfull are affirmed, and that which more weakeneth the force of the consideration before alledged, and the Answer it selfe, then of the reason whereunto it is applyed. For

First, If where the holy Ghost is given and received, and where faith is professed according to Gods ordinance, there none may hinder them from being baptized, viz. by such as have power to baptize them: Then either men that have received the holy Ghost, and professe the faith, be members of the Church, or Baptisme is not a priviledge of the Church, then it is not essentiall to the first Institution of Baptisme, that it should be dispenced to none but such as were entered into Church-fellowship, or were set members of a congregationall Assembly. Then the Apostles in dispensing the Seales unto such, or commanding them to be dispenced, did walk according to the rules of Scripture, and upon grounds common to them and us, viz. they admitted them unto the Sacraments who had right and interest to them, according to the minde and pleasure of the Institutor, not extraordinarily revealed, besides the common rules, or by speciall dispensation and prerogative excepted from the common rule, but made knowne in the Institution it selfe. And then the difficultie remaining is onely this, whether a Pastor or Teacher hath authority from Christ to dispence the Seales of the Covenant to one who hath right and title to them, and doth orderly desire that benefit because he is not as yet received as a set member of that particular societie which your practise in admitting of set members of other Congregations unto the Seales doth manifestly convince. For if both have equall interest unto the Seales, the Pastor upon lawfull suite and request hath equall authoritie to receive the one as well as the other.

Secondly, In the particular Instances given, it is not probable that Baptisme was evermore administred by Apostles or Evangelists; For before the death of

Christ, the Disciples baptized when they were properly neither  
 Joh 4. 2, 3. Apostles nor Evangelists: After the death of Christ (not to insist  
 & 3. 27. upon conjectures whether any assisted the Apostles in the baptizing  
 of the first three thousand converted) it is not certaine, whether Peter baptized  
 Act. 10. 48. *Cornelius* and his family, or commanded others then present with  
 him

him to baptize them : the words may be read : *Et iussit eos baptizari in nomine Domini. Syr. & Arab. Præcepit eis ut baptizarentur.* The Interlineary glosse leaveth it doubtfull, *Associis suis vel a seipso.* Others are of opinion that *Peter* did baptize them himselfe. It cannot be proved that *Philip* and *Ananias* were both Evangelists, when the one baptized the *Samaritans* and the *Eunuch*, the other *Paul*. *Paul* himselfe baptized but a few as he testifieth of himselfe, and reason to convince that others converted by his preaching were baptized by Evangelists, we know not any. And if *Philip*, *Ananias*, and others might baptize such as had right and title to the Seales, being as yet no set members of any particular Congregation : and a Congregation destitute of their proper Pastor, may desire another to baptize their Infants, and dispence the Sacrament of the Supper to them in that their necessitie. And if the members of one Congregation may lawfully communicate in another, then may the Pastors of particular Congregations upon occasion admit to the Seales of the Covenant such known and approved Christians, as have right and title thereunto, and duely and orderly require the same ; for of all these the reason is like and perpetuall.

*Whit. de Sacra. q. 3. de Bap. cap. 2. pa 160. Act. 8. 12. & 9. 18. 1 Cor. 1. 17.*

Thirdly, It is very improbable that the persons baptized, were in Church-state or order. If they were members of the Jewish Church not yet dissolved, this is not to the purpose ; for men have not right to Baptisme, because they were members of the Jewish Church, but because Disciples and ( as you say ) joyned together in Covenant, and have fellowship and calling of their Minister, who is to dispence the Seales unto them. And Baptisme is the Sacrament of initiation, not into the Jewish but the Christian Churches. Secondly, when you say, *the Seales in ordinary dispensation are the priviledges of the Churches. There are no Ministers but of particular Churches. Baptisme and the Lords Supper are to be administered onely to the members of the Church. No societie may lawfully desire the Seales, unlesse they have joyned in the choice and calling of their Minister. Beleevers not yet joyned in Church-order are without.* Doe yee not in all these understand a Christian societie, united in a Church-way, &c. which cannot agree to the members of the Jewish Church, not yet dissolved. Thirdly, *Against B pa. 88.* The constitution of the Church ( saith *M<sup>r</sup>. Robin.* ) is the orderly collection and conjunction of the Saints into and in the Covenant of the New Testament ; but the members of Jewish Churches not yet dissolved, were not in such constitution. If the Eunuch and Centurion were profelytes and members of the Church of the Jewes ; The Samaritanes whom *Philip* baptized were not so. And that any Gentiles, or the Gailor whom *Paul* baptized in the Apostles times, were set members of a Christian Assembly before baptized, is very strange. If there was a Church at *Philippi*, yet the Gailor who was baptized and converted the same night, could not be a set member by solempne admission before Baptisme. It is said the Apostles baptized these persons in an extraordinary way. But in this practise of

the Apostles two things are to be considered. 1. The circumstance of the action. 2. The qualitie or substance of the act. In some circumstances the baptizing of some of these persons might be extraordinary, but the substance and qualitie of the action was grounded upon rules perpetuall and common to us with them.

1. That is done in an extraordinary way, which by peculiar priviledge of dispensation is made lawfull to some one or few men, which is unlawfull to all others, not having the same dispensation, but where the ground and reason of the action is common : we must not conceive the thing to be done in an extraordinary way by speciall dispensation. What was done by the Apostles upon speciall revelation and immediate direction, besides the ordinary and common rule, in that wee are not to immitate or follow them, because we have not their warrant. But what they did upon reasons and grounds reaching unto us no lesse then unto them, in that we have the same libertie, allowance, or commandement that they did walk by. In one and the same action there may be and oft is something ordinary, something extraordinary or peculiar to speciall times or persons. So it was in the Apostles administration of the Seales : but in every place where they came by illimited power ( as you speake ) they did baptize Disciples, if they did baptize ; this was proper to them, and could not be communicated to any others by them ; For there is no passage of Scripture which teacheth this, that one Officer may communicate his power to another, or doe that which particularly belongeth to his office by a Deputie : But that they baptized beleevvers professing their faith in the Lord Jesus, and repentance towards God, such as had gladly imbraced the Word, and received the gifts of the holy Ghost : this was common to them with all Pastors and Teachers, because they did it, not by power illimited or speciall dispensation, but upon this standing perpetuall reason, that *the promise was made to them and to their seede, and to as many as the Lord shall call, that they had received the holy Ghost, and the kingdome of heaven belonged to them.* And if the grounds and reasons of their practise be common reaching to us, no lesse then unto them, the practise it selfe was not extraordinary. To say nothing that this Answer will not stand with the former ; for if the parties baptized were set members of particular Societies, the Apostles did not baptize them in an extraordinary way, they did it by the guidance and direction of the Spirit, that is true, but not by guidance of dispensation, or prerogative ; whereby that was made lawfull without such inspiration had been unlawfull. But they were infallibly guided to doe that which was according to the word of God, and might stand for our direction : that in case it be orderly desired a Pastor hath authoritie in his owne Congregation, to receive knowne and approved Christians to the seales of the Covenant, hath been proved before. If the Apostles dispenced the seales onely to the Church, Disciples, faithfull, who received the doctrine of salvation with gladnesse of heart, and were partakers of the holy Ghost, then they dispenced the seales in an ordinary way, for such have title and interest to the  
seales

seales by the Institution and appointment of God. And every Pastor by his Office may and ought to dispencc the seales unto such, within the bounds and limits of his calling: But the Apostles dispenced the seales onely to the Church, Disciples, faithfull, &c.

2. An Argument followeth necessarily from particular example to a generall; when one particular is proved by another particular, by force of the similitude common to the whole kinde, under which those particulars are contained: But the practise of the Apostles in baptizing Disciples and faithfull, by force of similitude common to the whole kinde, agreeth with the practise of Ministers receiving to Baptisme the seed of the faithfull, though as yet not set members of any particular societie. In some circumstances there may be difference when yet the reason is strong, if the difference be not in the very likenesse it selfe whereupon the reason is grounded. One circumstance that is materiall to the point may overthrow the likenesse pretended, and twenty different circumstances, if they be not to the point in hand make no dissimilitude. Now in this matter wee speake of, no circumstance is or can be named why we should thinke it lawfull for the Apostles to baptize Disciples as yet being no set members of particular societies, and the same should be unlawfull in all cases for ordinary Pastors in their particular Congregations, though it be desired.

3. What is done by extraordinary dispensation, that is lawfull for them onely who have received such dispensation, and by them cannot be communicated to others. But the Apostles baptized by others seldome by themselves, as hath been shewed.

4. We might urge the rule which a reverend Elder among you, giveth in another matter, (*scil.*) Those examples which are backed with some divine precept, or which are held forth in the first Institution of an ordinance, being part of the institution, or which were the constant lawfull actions of holy men in Scripture, not civill but sacred so binde us to imitation, as that not to conforme thereunto is sinne. For the Assumption to this Proposition, it is plaine and naturall: But the practise of the Apostles in receiving the faithfull, Disciples, &c. is backed with divine precept, held forth in the first Institution, and was their constant lawfull practise, agreeable to the practise of all others who were employed in that service; *Ergo*, &c.

5. In the first consideration, you prove the Seales to be the priviledge of the Church in ordinary dispensation, by this passage of Scripture, *Then they that gladly received the Word were baptized*: but if Apostles baptize by extraordinary dispensation in your sense this testimony is insufficient for that purpose.

2 Reason.

Our second reason. In due order, the Seales belong to them to whom the grant is given, *viz.* Baptisme to the seed of the faithfull, and the Lords Supper to beleevvers, able to try and examine themselves: But the grant is vouch-

safed to the faithfull and their seed, forgiveness of sinnes, sanctification, adoption, and what other good things are promised in the covenant of grace are the grant or good things sealed in the Sacrament. But those are granted to beleivers according to the covenant; and they are so linked together, that under one promised all are understood; and if one be vouchsafed, none is denied. When God promiseth to circumcise the heart, the forgiveness of sinnes is implied. And when Circumcision is said to be the Seale of the righteousness of faith, the circumcision of the heart by spirituall regeneration is included. To whomsoever then the spirituall gift, or inward grace of the covenant is given and granted, to them the Seales of that gift and grant doth belong in their due order. But the spirituall gift or grace which is the thing signified in the Sacrament, is freely granted to true beleivers, who have received the doctrine of salvation, and walk in the wayes of truth and righteousness, therefore the priviledges of the Seales belong unto them. To this you answer.

The scope of the Apostle in the place, *Rom. 4. 11.* is not to define a Sacrament, nor to shew what is the proper and adequate subject of the Sacrament; but to prove by the example of *Abraham* that a sinner is justified before God, not by works but by faith. Thus as *Abraham* the Father of the faithfull was justified before God, so must his seed be (that is, all beleivers whether Jews or Gentiles, circumcised or uncircumcised) for therefore *Abraham* received circumcision which belonged to the Jews to confirm the righteousness which he had before, while he was uncircumcised, that he might be the Father of both: but lest any one should think his circumcision was needlesse if he was justified by faith before circumcision; he addeth that his circumcision was of no use as a seale to confirme to him his faith, and the righteousness which is by faith: yet as Justification is not the onely thing that Circumcision sealed, but the whole Covenant also made with *Abraham* and his seed was sealed thereby; so *Abraham* is to be considered in using circumcision not simply, or onely as a beleiver without Church relation, but as a confederate beleiver, and so in the state and order of a visible Church. Though the Apostle maketh mention of the righteousness of faith as sealed thereby, which was not that which served for his purpose.

Now that Circumcision also sealed the Church-Covenant, may appear from *Gen. 17. 9. 10, 11.* where you may find that *Abraham* and his seed, though beleivers, were not circumcised till God called them into Church-Covenant; and there is the same reason & use of Baptisme to us which serveth to seal our justification as circumcision did, yet not that alone, but also the whole covenant with all the priviledges of it, as Adoption, Sanctification, and fellowship with Christ in affections, and the salvation of our souls, and the resurrection of our bodies. And not onely the covenant of grace which is common to all beleivers: but Church-

Covenant

*Aët. 2. 38.*

*Gal. 3. 26, 27.*

*Tit. 3. 5.*

*Mat. 20. 23.*

*1 Pet. 3. 21.*

1 Cor. 15. 19. Covenant also which is peculiar to confederates. According to that of the Apostle, *By one Spirit we are baptized into one body*, 1 Cor. 12. 13. And by one bodie he meaneth that particular Church of *Corinth* whereunto he writeth and saith, *Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular*, ver. 27. And *ergo* Church-membership is required as well to the orderly partaking of Baptisme as it was of Circumcision. Nor do we find that circumcision was administered to all that were in the Covenant of grace (as all beleivers were) but onely to such of them as were joyned to the people of the God of *Abraham*. *Melchizedech* was under the covenant of grace, so was *Lot*, so was *Job* and his foure friends; yet we no where read that they were circumcised, nor do beleieve they were. So that if Circumcision was administered to none but those that were joyned together in *Abrahams* familie, and to the Church of God in his seed, then may not baptisme in ordinarie course be administered to any beleivers now, unlesse they be joyned to the Church of Christ, for *parum par est ratio*. But the first is true, *Ergo*, the second also.

Reply.

THE particulars in this Answer hath been examined alreadie, and might have well been passed over, because it is tedious to repeat the same things againe and againe. Two things are affirmed by you.

1. That the scope of the Apostle, *Rom. 4. 11.* was not to define a Sacrament, nor to shew what was the proper and adequate subject of a Sacrament. But this weakneth no part of the argument, for if the Apostle do not fully define a Sacrament, nor mention every particular benefit or prerogative sealed in the Sacrament; yet he sheweth sufficiently to whom the Sacraments in due order do appertain; even to the heires of salvation, to them that are justified by faith, and walk in the steps of our Father *Abraham*. And thus we argue from the text of the Apostle. They that are partakers of the good things sealed in the Sacrament, to them belong the Seales of the Covenant, according to Gods Institution. But they that are justified by faith are partakers of the good things sealed in the Sacrament, to them belong the Seales of the Covenant according to Gods institution. If justification be not the onely thing that Circumcision sealed, this is nothing to the point in hand. For the gifts of the holy Ghost is not the onely thing that is sealed in Baptisme: But you confesse in your Answer immediately going before, that they have right to baptisme who have received the holy Ghost; and the reason is the same of justification. Besides if justification be not the onely thing that is sealed in the Sacrament, it is one principall thing which doth inferre the rest. For the blessings of the covenant of grace in Christ are inseparable; where one is named, others are implied: and where one is given, no one is absolutely wanting. *Christ is made of God wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption: whom God doth justifi-* 1 Cor. 1. 30.

fic, them he doth sanctifie, and them he will glorifie.

2. The second thing you affirme is, that not onely the covenant of grace which is common to all beleivers; but Church-Covenant also which is peculiar to confederates is necessarie to the participation of the Seales. This sense your words must beare, or else they reach not the point in hand: but this is that which should be proved substantially, and not barely affirmed; and which (as we conceive) is contrary to the first Institution of the Sacrament, and the lawfull practise of *John* the Baptist, our Saviour Christ, his Apostles, and all others who are recorded lawfully to administer the Seales. In *Gen. 17.* we find the first Institution of circumcision recorded, and that it was the seale of the Covenant to *Abraham* and his seed, to them that were borne in his house, or bought with his money: but we find no mention of any Church-Covenant besides the covenant of promise which God made with *Abraham*. There is no mention of any Church-order into which *Abrahams* family was now gathered more then formerly. God gave circumcision to *Abraham* and his seed as a seale of the righteousness of faith; but that this family was first gathered into Church-order as you speak we cannot beleeve, because the Scripture saith it not whether *Lot*, *Job*, *Melchizedech* were circumcised or not, we will not dispute; but if they received not the seale, we cannot think the reason to be because they were not in Church-order as those times required, if any such thing had been required, we cannot think that either they were ignorant of it, or that they walked against their light: But according to the dispensing of those times we judge as they were visible beleivers, so they walked in that Church-fellowship which God prescribed; and therefore if circumcision had been the seale of such Church-Covenant as you conceive, it should have been given to them no lesse then to *Abrahams* family. But of this sufficient is said before. As for Baptisme it is the seal of the whole Covenant, which the passages quoted prove it to be. Whether it be the seale of our fellowship which Christ in affliction, and the resurrection of our bodies, we leave it to your consideration: but that it should be a Seal of a Church-Covenant which is peculiar to confederates, that to us is very strange. That it is a solemne admission into the Church of Christ, and that of necessitie it must be administred in a particular societie (though in the passage to the *Corinthians* the mysticall bodie of Christ be understood) will easily be granted. But that it is the seale of any other covenant but the covenant of grace we cannot digest.

The Sacraments are of God, and we must learne of God for what end and use they were ordained. But by the Institution of Baptisme recorded in Scripture we have learned it belongeth to the faithfull, to disciples, to them that are called of God: and as for any other covenant necessarie to the right participation of the Seales, there is deep silence of it in the Institution, in the lawfull and approved practise of the first dispensers of these sacred mysteries. Enough hath been said to this matter alreadie, but we will conclude it with the words of that  
reverend

reverend Author whom we have cited many times before upon occasion. *After-wards* (saith he) *John the Baptist walked in the same steps, and by the same rule administered baptism in the Church whereof he was a member, required of all that came to his baptism a profession of repentance, and amendment of life for remission of sinnes whereof baptism was a seale, and preached Christ to them.* This order our Lord Jesus Christ after his resurrection established to continue in the Christian Churches, giving a commission to his Disciples to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, and to gather all such as should beleeve through the world, as a testimonie to them, that the righteousness of faith did belong to them also, and not to the Church of the Jews onely. Accordingly the Apostles and servants of Christ were carefull to observe this rule in their administering baptism. Thus *Peter* when he saw those three thousand souls pricked in their hearts, preached unto them concerning repentance, remission of sin, Christ, the promise, baptism, faith, amendment of life, baptized those that gladly received his word, and testified the same by joyning together in the profession thereof. The same course *Philip* took with the Church that was gathered in Samaria, where many were baptized, but none till they professed their beliefe of the Gospel, and their receiving of the Word of God. And therefore it is said expressly, *When they beleeved Philip preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized both men and women.* When *Ananias* was commanded to go and baptise *Paul*, he objected against it at first, till the Lord assured him that he was one to whom the Seale of the Covenant belonged, and then he went and did it.

When *Peter* and those that came with him saw that the holy Ghost fell on *Cornelius*, and those that were assembled at that time in his house, whilst he spake these words, *To him give all the Prophets witnesse, that through the Name of Jesus whosoever beleeveeth on him shall receive remission of sinnes.* *Peter* demanded, *Can any man forbid water that these should not be baptized, which have received the holy Ghost as well as we?* In this catalogue we see profession of faith and repentance required in them that were admitted to partake in the seals; but there is not a word of Church-Covenant, either in the Institution or administration of the Seales before they were admitted to them. That Christians are solemnly ingrafted into the body of Christ, and into particular Societies by the Seales, is a truth acknowledged on all sides: but that ever it was deemed necessarie, that a Christian should be a set member of a particular Congregationall Church before he were admitted to the Seales, or that by divine institution any such thing is ordained as necessarie thereunto, that upon the grounds before mentioned we denie, and cannot account it lesse then an addition to the institution. For if the Sacraments be seales of the Covenant of grace, and

baptisme by divine Institution belong to Disciples, faithfull, Saints, who have gladly received the Word of grace, are justified by faith, sanctified by the Spirit, adopted to be the children of God by grace, and heires apparent to the kingdom of heaven; then to debarre such from the Seales, and their seed from Baptisme, because they be not in Church-Covenant (as you speake) is an addition to the ordinance of grace, and many wayes injurious to the people of God.

## V. P O S I T I O N.

*That the power of Excommunication is so in the body of the Church, that what the Major part shall allow must be done, though the Pastors and Governors and the rest of the Assembly be of another minde, and that per-adventure upon more substantiall reasons.*

*Answer.*

*Vid. Park. Pol. Ecclesiastica. l. 3. c. 1, 2 &c.* IF the Question had been, Whether the power of Excommunication lies in the body of the Congregation, consisting of officers and members; our Answer should be Affirmative, and according hereunto is also our practise, and wee hope your judgement and ours are not different herein: But seeing the Question is, *Whether it is so in the body of the Congregation, that what the Major part doth allow that must be done, though the Pastors and Governors, and the rest of the Assembly, doe dissent upon more substantiall reasons.* Our Answer is Negative, *viz.* that the power of Excommunication is not sealed in the Congregation, neither ought it to be so in any of the Churches of the Lord Jesus, who ought not to carry matters by number of votes against God, as this Position implyeth, but by strength of rule and reason according to God. The power of the Apostles was not to doe things against the truth but for the truth, 2 Cor. 13. 8 and not for destruction, but for edification, 2 Cor. 10. 8. And the same may be said concerning the power which God hath given to the Church, and if any Church among us have swerved from the rule (which is more then we know) we doe not allow them in such a practise, but should be ready as the Lord should helpe to convince them of their sin therein.

*Reply.*

THIS Question is much mistaken, for the demand is not whether in the Congregation matters should be carried by number of votes against God, as you interpret the Position, but whether the power of Excommunication so lye in the body of the Congregation as that sentence must proceed *in externo foro*, according to the vote and determination of the *Major* part, and so whether power of admission

admission of members doe so reside in the communitie, as that they must be refused whom the *Major* part refuse, though the Pastors and Governors and part of the Congregation be of another judgement, and he admitted whom the *Major* part doth approve. And though the Church hath received no power against God, but for God, yet in the execution of the power no doubt the members of that Church may be of different judgements and affections, wherein the one side or other doth erre, and is deceived. Now the Question hereupon moved is, whether the power of the keyes be so given and committed to the society of the faithfull, as that in externall Court that act or sentence must stand and be in force which the greater part shall determine amongst them which hold the power of the keyes to be given to the Church. Some<sup>a</sup> distinguish betwixt the power it self w<sup>ch</sup> they give to the Church, and the execution and exercise of it, which they confine to the Presbytery: <sup>b</sup> Others give the power of the keyes with the exercise thereof to the whole body of the Church, or if in the dispensation they attribute any thing to the Officers, it is but as servants of the Church, from whom they derive their authoritie. By *Church* also some understand the communitie of the faithfull, together with their officers and guides. And here lyeth the stone at which they of the Separation stumble, and which we conceive to be your judgement and practise, wherein we required your plaine answer, with your reasons, but have received no satisfaction. You referre us to Mr. *Parkers* reasons to prove the power of the keyes to belong to the whole Church, who are of farre different judgement from Mr. *Parker* in the point it selfe. And if your judgement and practise be according to that of the Separation (which we feare) you dissent from him, and we cannot but dissent from you upon these considerations.

sted from the whole, using the meetest number for pronouncing the Censures, *Id. pa. 124-126.*

1. No power agreeth to the multitude or communitie of the faithfull, but that which is given them of the Lord by his positive Law; For the whole spirituall power for the gathering and government of his Church is given to Christ as Mediator. And if the power of the keyes be derived from, and communicated by Christ unto his Church, of necessity it must draw its originall from divine positive Law, and can agree to none but as it is communicated. But the communicated power of the keyes with the

*a Fen. Theol. lib. 7.*

*Park. de Pol. lib. 2. c. 1.*

*J. D. Apol. 27. Sect. exam. pa. 238, 239, 240.*

*b Rob. against Ber. pa. 182.*

By two or three are meant the meanest communion or societie of Saints, with or without Officers. *Rob. against Ber. Certaine observations, p. 4.* Onely he that is of the true visible Church and furnished with the power of Christ, the keyes of the kingdom for the Censure can admonish his brother in order, and those degrees which the word prescribeth *Mat. 23. 15. 17. Id. pa 99.* The power as to receive in, so to cut off any member is given to the whole body together of every Christian Congregation, and not to any one member apart, or to more members seque-

If the brethren have libertie in the ordinance of Prophesying, they have also libertie in the other ordinance of Excommunication, for they are

both of the same nature; execution thereof, Christ hath not given immediately Looke to whom Christ gave the one key of Knowledge, to them he gave the other key of Discipline, *Rob. against Bern. pa. 238, 239.* to the whole multitude, but to some persons and Officers designed and appointed thereunto. Peruse the severall passages of Scripture, wherein power and authoritie of preaching the Gospel, administring the Sacraments, binding and loosing is given to the Church: and it is apparent that distinct severall persons are spoken of, and not the whole communie; *Goe teach Mat. 28. 19. 28. all Nations, and baptize them, &c. Whose sinnes yee remit, they are remitted, &c. Feed my Lambes, feed my sheepe, &c.* Were these things & 21. 15, 16. spoken to the whole communie, or to speciall persons?

2. If Christ gave this power to the communie, was it from the beginning of the Church, or tooke it effect after the Churches were planted and established by the Apostles. Not the first, for then the Apostles themselves should derive their Gal. 1. 1. power from the communie and societie of the faithfull, which Ioh. 21. 22. they did not, but from Christ immediately, both in respect of gifts *Whit. de pont.* and graces, their calling it selfe, and the designation of their 9. 8. c. 2. 3. persons.

It is said the power of the keyes given to the Apostles was given to the Church, *In tuitu ejusdem tanquam finis & totius.* And it is true the Apostles were given to the Church, and the power they received was for the good of the whole; but this is not enough. That power may be said to be received immediately by the Church, as the first receptacle of it, and from it derived to others. But this power must be in the communie as the first subject, from whom it commeth to the Officers. As the power of seeing is not onely given *in tuitu hominis*, as the end of it, and the *totum* to whom it agreeth, but is *in homine* as the first subject from which it commeth to the eyes. The Apostles and other Go-

1 Cor. 3. 22. & 4. 1.

1 Tim. 3. 15. *Autoritas rectorum pro dono quidem ecclesie à Christo data est, sed non pro dono absoluto, ut penes totam Ecclesiam resideat cui datur, sed pro dono conditionali, ut rectoribus ipsis communicetur ad totius edificationem, Park. de Polit. lib. 3. cap. 8.*

vernors were given of Christ for the Church as for their end, and all their authoritie was given unto them for the Church as for the whole: but the authoritie it selfe was immediately derived from Christ, and is not in the Church as the immediate subject, nor derived from the Church, but from Christ the King of the Church. The authoritie of Governors is given of Christ for a gift to the Church, but not for a gift absolute, that it may reside in the power of the whole

Church, to whom it is given, but for a conditionall gift communicated to the Governors themselves for the good of the whole. It is one thing then to aske for

1 Cor. 12. 7. what end or use the keyes are given, another to whom. To every one

1 Cor. 3. 12. is given the declaration of the Spirit for profit, i. e. for the good of

1 Tim. 3. 15. the Church. But was this gift given to the communie of the faith-

1 Cor. 4. 1. full first and immediately? No; By gift and possession it was given to some, but for use and profit it was publick. After

After the Churches were established it tooke not effect; for then it must be shewed where Christ committed the power of God, first to the Apostles, and after to the communitie of the faithfull. But that is no where to be found in holy scripture. The Ministers and guides of the Church were immediately of Jesus Christ, from whom immediately they derive their power and authoritie, by whom they are set over their charge, in whose Name they must execute their office, whose Stewards, Legates and Ambassadors they are, and unto whom they must give an account. Yea, Pastorship is the gift of Christ no lesse then Apostleship, and that the more because it is perpetuall in the Church; every Pastor is not immediately called, but the Office and order of Pastors, the calling, authoritie and jurisdiction is immediately from Christ, and not from the Church: The Steward is appointed of the Master of the family alone, and hath all his authoritie and jurisdiction from him: Every Ambassador in the cause of his ambassage doth immediately depend upon him from whom he is sent. But if the function, order and authoritie of Pastors and Teachers, be immediately from Christ, then it is not received from the Church as the immediate receptacle. Thus Protestant Divines dispute against Papists. If Bishops receive their power and authority of exercising immediately from Christ, by mandate, mission, and commission from him, then they derive it not from the Pope. And if Presbyters receive their order jurisdiction and power of execution from Christ by his mandate and Commission, then they receive it not from the Bishop. And by the same reason, if the power of the keyes be the immediate gift of Christ to his Ministers, then they derive not their power and authoritie from the people. It is usually objected that the Church cannot convey what she never had, but the people may Elect their Pastor. Whereunto the answer is direct and plaine. Nothing can give that which it had not formally or virtually, unlesse it give it as an instrument ministring to one who hath it, but so it may give what it never had, nor is capable of. A Steward may give all the offices in his Masters house, as ministerially executing his Masters pleasure. Electors have not evermore authoritie over him whom they elect: but power and authoritie onely to apply that power to him whom they choose. The power and authoritie whereunto a Minister is elected, is not in the people that elect him, but from Christ the King and head of his Church, who out of power doth conferre that office upon him. If we consider what men give, or give not universally, it must be deemed that any men can make Ministers, because they give not the office, gifts, or authoritie, which are from Christ alone.

Act. 20. 28.  
Eph. 4. 8. 11.  
1 Co. 12. 28, 29  
2 Co 5. 19, 20.  
Tit. 1. 7.

*Successor habet jurisdictionē ab eo a quo predecessor, alioqui non verē succedit.* But Pastors and Teachers are the Successors of the Apostles. *Whit. de pont. q. 8. c. 3.*

*Fr: Victor rel. 2. de potest Ecclesie q. 2. Alphons. de Castr. li. 2. c. 24. de inst. q. 8. c. 1.*

*Cham. past. tom. 2. lib. 11. c. 18. sect. 11.*

3. If Ecclesiasticall and spirituall power be in the multitude and

community of the faithfull, the Church doth not onely call, but make Officers out of power and vertue received into her selfe, and then should the Church have a true lordlike power in regard of her Ministers.

In the Church the Officers are the Ministers of the people, whose service the people is to use for administration and executing their judgements, that is, pronouncing the judgement of the Church (and of God first) against the obstinate. *Rob. against Ber. p. 136.* The Officers in the Church are both Christs and the peoples Servants and Ministers. *Id. p. 165.*

For as he that will derive authority to the Church maketh himselfe Lord of the Church : so if the Church derive authoritie to the Ministers of Christ, she maketh herself Lady and Mistris over them in the exercise of that authoritie over them. For all men know it is the property of the Lord and Master to impart authoritie. Did the Church give power and authoritie to the Pastors and Teachers, she might make the Sacraments and preaching which one doth in order no Sacraments, no preaching. For it is the order instituted of God that gives being and efficacie to these ordinances. And if the power of ruling, feeding, and dispensing the holy things of God, do reside in the faithfull, the Word and Sacraments in respect of dispensation and efficacie shall depend upon the order and institution of the Societie. If the power of the keyes be derived from the community of the faithfull, then are Officers immediately and formally servants to the Church, and must do every thing in the name of the Church, Rule, feed, bind, loose, remit and retaine finnes, preach and administer the Sacraments, then they must performe their Office according to the direction of the Church more

*Ames Bel. cerv. tom. 2. l. 3. c. 1. Ministri Ecclesiastici sunt Ecclesie tanquam objecti circa quod versantur ministri sunt Christi tanquam principalis cause & Domini à quo pendunt ministri sed nullo modo episcoporum.*

or lesse, seldome or frequent, remisse or diligent. For from whom are they to receive direction how to carry themselves in their Office but from him or them from whom they receive their Office, whose works they do, and from whom they expect their reward? If their power and office be of God immediately, they must do the duties of their place according to his designement, and to be accountable unto God : But if their power and function be from the Church, the Church must give account unto God, and the Officers unto the Church whom she doth take to be her helpers.

If it be said that God will have the Church to chuse Officers to execute the power committed unto her. The answer is, either God will have her elect officers of his designement to do his work according to that power which he shall give them, and by his direction, and then they are Gods servants, and not the Churches, and receive their charge and function immediately from God, and not from the people : or he leaveth it to the arbitrement of the Church, to chuse according to their pleasure such as must receive charge and authoritie from her. And then they must execute their office in her name so as shall seeme good unto the Church, and neither longer nor otherwise. For if the Ministers of the Church

Church be subject to God and Christ by the intervention of the people onely, they have it from them, and not from God: but they preach or administer the Sacraments, rule, or feed, and if they depend immediately upon the faithfull, viz. two or three gathered together in covenant, they must draw what in order they are to preach unto them in the name of the Lord; For from him must the Ambassadour learne his arrand from whom he receiveth his Commission. We forbear to presse the confessions and reasons of such as maintaine this opinion, that the officers of Christ be both of and for the people, and that in relation as the officers are called servants, the Church may be called Lord.

*Omnis legatus in causa legationis suae immediate pender ab eo à quo mittitur, & in instrumento mandatorum in corrupto est indelebili.*

a We denie the order of Elders to be superiour to the order of Saints, since it is not an order of mastership but of service. *Rob. against Bern. p. 201.* It were a strange thing that men could have no command over their servants, as I have oft shewed the Church-officers to be her servants. *Id. p. 214.* The order of servants is inferiour to the order of them whose servants they are: but the order of Church-officers is an order of servants, and they by office to serve the people, *Id. p. 215. 227.*

4. Moreover if the power of the keyes be given first and immediately to the community of the faithfull, what reason can be alledged why in defect of Officers the Church might not rule, governe, feed, bind, loose, preach and administer the Sacraments, or if any faile in any office, why she might not supply that want by her power. For the power of the keyes doth containe, both authority and exercise, power being given to this end, that it might be exercised as it is vouchsafed. But the Church when she is destitute of Officers, cannot exercise those acts of rule, nor by her power supply the want of any Officer. Onely she hath a ministry of calling one whom Christ hath described, that from Christ he may have power of office given him in the vacant place. For these reasons (not to insist on any more) we judge the multitude or community of the faithfull not to be the immediate receptacle of Ecclesiasticall authoritie, and so the power of excommunication not to belong to them. If consent of the Churches of God be asked in this point (to omit others) the Churches of Scotland speake fully and expressely for us, in the second book of *Disci. cap. 1.* *The Church as it is taken for them that exercise spirituall functions in the congregation of them that professe the truth, hath a certain power granted by God according to which, it useth a proper jurisdiction and government exercised to the comfort of the whole flocke. Power is an Ecclesiasticall authority granted by God the Father through the Mediator Jesus Christ unto his Kirke, gathered, and having its ground in the Word of God, and to be put in execution by them unto whom the spirituall government of the Church by lawfull calling is committed. The policie of the Kirke flowing from this power is an order or spirituall forme of government which is exercised by the members appointed thereto by the Word of God, and therefore is given immediately to the office-bearers by whom it is exercised to the weale of the whole body.*

*Ut universam scripturam evoluat D. Erasmus, nunquam tamen inventurum verba Ligandi, & Solvendi aliis quam publico ministerio fungentibus, & quidem metaphoricè, divine videlicet & spiritualis potestatis respectu, tribui. Sunt enim judicialia hæc verba. &c. Beza de Presb. p. 60. See Helvet. conf. ca. 18. Sect. Nunc ergo. &c. Belgic. confess. art. 3. Argentinens. conf. art. 13. Bobem. confes. art. 14.*

## VI. POSITION.

*That none are to be admitted as members but they must promise not to depart or remove unlesse the Congregation will give leave.*

*Answer.*

**O**ur Answer hereto is briefly this. We judge it expedient and most according to rule, that such brethren as are in covenant with the Church, and ours as fellow-members, and have committed their soules to our charge as Ministers, should not forsake our fellowship, nor obruptly breake away from us when and whither they please; but first approve themselves therein to their brethrens consciences, and take their counsell in so weightie a matter. For which we propound to consider these two reasons following. The former is drawne from the nature of the Church-Covenant, which consists in these foure particulars.

1. Every member at his admission doth openly professe, and solemnly promise, that by Christs helpe assisting, he will not onely in generall give up himselfe (as to the Lord to be guided by him, so) to the Church according to God to be directed by it, which is no more then the members of the Church of *Macedonia*, did in a parallel case, *2 Cor. 8. 5.* but also in particular, that he will performe all duties of brotherly love and faithfulnessse to all the members of the body, as of diligent watchfulnessse over all his brethren, thereby to prevent sin, so of faithfull admonition after their falls to regaine them to the Lord, from their sinne, the former being injoynd, *Hebr. 3. 13.* And the want thereof deeply condemned in *Cain*, that would not acknowledge that duty of being his brothers keeper, *Gen. 4. 9.* the latter given in charge to the Church-members of Israel by the hand of *Moses*, *Levit. 19. 17.* and so by Christ himself, *Matth. 18. 15.* And by *Paul* also to the *Galat. c. 6. 1, 2.*

Secondly, the ingagements are not made onely by the members admitted into the Church, but by the Church back again to the member. So that thereby the whole Church in generall, and every member thereof in particular, stand as well in conscience bound to performe all duties of love and watchfulnessse to him, as he doth to them; And this we do according to the golden rule of love and equitie injoynd by our Saviour, *Matth. 7. 12.* fearing that contrary practise of Scribes and Pharisees so much condemned by Christ, of laying greater burthens

burthens upon others, then we our selves are willing to undergo. *Matth. 23. 4.*

3. These promises thus lawfully and mutually made, that member, as also the whole Church, are bound not onely every one for himselfe, actively to performe them, but passively also to suffer his brethren to do those offices upon and towards himselfe: If he neglect the former, he shall falsifie his covenant so solemnly before God, Angels, and men made, and so not onely breake promise to his brother, contrary to *Psal. 15. 4.* but also in some sort commit the sinne of *Ananias* and *Saphira* in lying against the holy Ghost, condemned and punished severely by Gods own hand, *Act. 5. 3. 5. 10.* If he faile in the latter, he shall not onely be guiltie of the same sinne of breach of Covenant with God and man as in the former; but shall also be guilty of this folly of despising counsell so much condemned, *Prov. 12. 15.* and *1. 7.* and shall also proclaime this his folly and pride by shewing to all the Church that he is wise in his own eyes, and leanes to his own wisdom both reprov'd, *Prov. 3. 7.* and *23. 4.* Seeing need of no further light to be held forth by his brethren, then what he apprehends himselfe, which is one of the greatest properties of folly.

4. From all these things premised, it appears that we can do no lesse (and yet we do no more) then require a member before he depart according to our covenant thus lawfully, deliberately, and mutually made, to expresse to his brethren his desire of departing, and the place and societie to which he tends, whether to a godly Church where he may be edified; or to some corrupt Assembly where he may be destroyed. And 2. his grounds and reasons which move him so to do, which if they hold good being scanned by the Word, he may be not onely confirmed in his way by the consent and advise of many, but counselled also how to manage his departure for his best comfort. And so after all, solemnly with the whole Churches prayers, and blessings in the name of Christ dismissed: But if his grounds either be none at all, or weake and sinfull, and that his desire of departing favours of self-will, inordinate love of gaine, rash precipitancie, or a spirit of schisme, more strongly then of sound reason, then what can we do lesse without breach of Covenant, then in love and tenderneffe shew him his weaknesse, dissuade him from his purpose, and refuse to consent. Yet if after all this we see his spirit stedfastly and stiffely bent for a departure, then though we dare not act against our light by consenting or counselling, yet if his sinne be not apparent, and danger eminent, we use rather (through indulgence in cases of like nature) to suspend our vote against him, as not willing against his will to detain him, abhorring to make our Churches places of restraint and imprisonment. But if any should object that this argument holds firme where this Church-Covenant is allowed to be lawfull, but with some it is questioned, and with them it avails not. *Ans.* Some indeed have questioned the necessitie of our Church-Covenant, but none (we hope) of these our reverend brethren that we write unto do question the lawfulnessse of such a Covenant being nothing else for the

matter of it, but a promise of doing such Christian duties as the Gospel of Christ requires of all Saints in Church-citate; for we doe not herein promise to performe any new dutie to our brethren which was not before commanded us of the Lord, but onely revive and renew our purposes afresh of performing such duties unto that particular body into which we are then incorporated as were before injoynd in the Word, as to love each other, and to watch over each other out of love for their good, to be ready to give counsell to, and to take counsell from each other, to prevent sinne in them, or to gaine them from sinne. All which are plentifully and frequently held forth in the Scriptures; for the defect of which care and watchfulnesse, all the body shall be wrapt in the same guilt & punishment with the member that commits the sinne, as the whole Church of *Israel* was in *Achans* sinne and punishment.

Secondly, Its a thing very reasonable, and a knowne fundamentall rule in all societies, that he that is incorporate thereto, and so participates of the priviledges thereof, should ingage himselfe to conforme to all such lawfull rites and orders as are expedient for the well being of that societie, the contrary whereto will be a thing injurious in him to offer, and confusion to themselves to accept.

The second ground is drawne from the necessitie that may fall upon the body if every particular member should depart at his owne pleasure. For as every societie, so much more a Church of Saints, both from principles of nature and Christianitie also, not onely lawfully may, but in dutie are bound to endeavour the preservation of it selfe, and *Ergo* timely to foresee and wisely to prevent all such things as would bring destruction to it selfe. Now if any member might, when, whither, and wherefore he please without consent of the Church depart away from it, this may by unavoydable consequence dissipate the whole; for if one man may so depart, why may not another also, though never so usefull in that body, and whose absence might much shake the well-being of it: and if one why not two, six, ten, twenty as well? For where will yee stop seeing any may plead the same libertie, and if members may so doe why not the Pastor and Teacher also? Seeing they are tyed to him by the same relation that he is to them, and so the principalls falling, the whole building must downe: and if this may be so in one Church, why not in all, and so Christ should have no settled Church on earth.

*Reply.*

**I**T is one thing abruptly to breake away when and whither they please, and forsake fellow-ship, another thing not to depart or remove habitation, unlesse the Congregation will give leave. Also it is one thing mutually to compound and agree not to depart from each other without consent and approbation, another to require a promise of all that be admitted into societie, that they shall not depart without the Churches allowance. If such a promise be required of all

all members to be admitted, we cannot discern upon what grounds your practise is warranted. First, you exclude all such as be not set members from the Sacrament of the Supper, and their children from Baptisme, and yet hinder them from entrance into Church societie, because they cannot promise continuance in the place where they are resident for the present. Here we desire to be satisfied from the word of God by what you require it. Did the Apostles ever stipulate with such as desired to be baptized, that they must abide in particular societie, and not remove thence without approbation from the Church? or did they deny the seales unto them, because they could not make any such promise? Was it ever heard of in the Church of God from the beginning thereof unto this day, that any such thing was propounded unto, or required of, members to be admitted into Church-fellowship? That Church Covenant which is necessary was not in use in the Apostles times, but the Covenant they entred into bound no man to this condition for ought we read. They did not prescribe it, no Church ever yet covenanted it as necessary to the preservation of the body.

Secondly, It pertaines not to the whole Congregation to take notice of, be acquainted with, or judge of the cause of every particular members removal. May not a servant remove from his Master to another Congregation? or the father bestow his sonne or daughter in marriage to one of another Congregation, but the whole Church must be called to counsell in this matter? If the Assembly once grow to be populous, of necessity they must be negligent in, or weary of such an heavy taske; and for the present, for every one to challenge so much authoritie over other is usurpation. Let it be shewed that ever by divine right this power was committed to the Church, and then we will confesse it to be expedient and necessary. But till then we thinke the Church is over ridged in exacting such a condition of the members, and the members themselves goe beyond their measure as busi-bodies in other mens matters, and things whereof they are not well able to judge many times, if they arrogate such power unto themselves wee allow not rashnesse, or precipitancy, pride or self-conceitednesse, we know it is meete that weightie matters should be mannaged by Councell, but it is not necessary to bring every particular thing to the whole Church. *In the multitude of Councillors there is peace*, but over many Councillors oft causeth distraction, and different apprehensions breed delayes. The nature of your Church-Covenant, as you describe it, inferreth not a necessitie of bringing every such businesse unto the Church; for you binde your selves mutually to watch over one another, and in love to admonish one another in the Lord, to prevent sinne and to encourage in well-doing, as it concerneth every man within the limits of his place and calling. But this essentially tyeth not any man to a perpetuall residence in one place, for then even occasionall absence should be a breach of Covenant, unlesse it be by consent and approbation of the Church.

You say in your Covenant you promise to performe no new dutie to your

brethren which was not before commanded of the Lord, but onely revive and renew your purposes afresh of performing such duties to that particular body into which you are then to be incorporated, as were before injoynd in the Word. But in the word of truth, it is not commanded either expielly or by consequent, that no member of a Congregation should remove, or occasionally be absent from the place of his habitation, before he have acquainted the Church whither he goeth, and upon what occasions, and whether the place be dangerous, where he is likely to be infected; or safe, where he may be edified. These things are matters of weight and to be undertaken with advice, but the knowledge thereof belongeth not to every particular member of the societie. And the Church shall burden her selfe above measure if she take upon her to intermeddle in all such occasions. Neither is it safe to commit the determination of such matters ever to the vote of the multitude, or weight of reasons, as they shall apprehend the matter. And if such businesse must be determined on the Lords day, and to goe be-

*Rob. ag. Bern.  
pa. 230.*

fore the administration of the Word, Sacraments, and almes, least the holy things be polluted by notorious obstinate offenders, wee feare the time appointed for the exercise of Religion shall be profaned with unseasonable disputes. Instances might be alledged, if it were a matter to be insisted upon.

As for the Covenant it selfe which you mutually enter into, if therein you exact nothing but what God requires both for tryall and stipulation, far be it that we should disallow it, but if yee constraine men to meddle with things that belong not to them, and winde them up higher then God would, and straine every thing to the pitch that you seeme here to doe in this branch a godly and sober minde may well pause before he make such promise. All members of the Church are not equally necessary to the preservatiō of the whole body; & if to the removall of some, it were expedient to have the cōsent, not only of the whole societie, but of neighbouring societies, Ministers especially, it is very much to draw this to the removall or abode of every particular member. And if any man shall not intermeddle with every businesse of this kinde, as questioning whether it doth belong to him or no, or not aske the advice of the whole societie, as knowing the most to be unfit to counsell in such a case, doth he break his Covenant therein, and so commit a sinne in a sort like the sinne of *Ananias* and *Sapphira*? Judge your selves if in other cases you would not censure this to be an high incroachment upon Christian libertie, and a strict binding of mens consciences by humane constitutions. May you not expect to heare from your own grounds that herein you have devised an expedient, or necessary rite or custome to preserve the unitie, and prevent the dissolution of the body, which never came into the minde of the Lord Jesus, the Saviour of the Church, and that in so doing (if your exposition will hold good) you breake the second Commandement. Rites and customes expedient to prevent confusion for the time, let them be observed

served as customes expedient, and what God requires in the examination or admission of members, let that take place according to the presidents given in the Scriptures, and the constant practise of the universall Church in the purest times. But to presse customes onely expedient for the time, as standing rules necessary at all times, and for all persons, to put that authoritie into the hands of men which God never put upon them, to oblige men to intermeddle further in the affaires of men, then the Word doth warrant, to binde the conscience, and that under so heavy a penalty as the sinne of *Ananias* and *Saphira*, where God hath not bound it, and to debarre known and approved Christians from the Seales of the Covenant, because they cannot promise as seld members to abide and stay in the societie, unlesse they shall obtaine leave of the Congregation to depart, and to charge them in the meane season to be men, who against light refuse subjection to the Gospel; this is that which we cannot approve, which yet wee suspect will follow from your judgement, and desire to be resolved of in your practise. And here we intreat leave to put you in minde of that which you have considered already, *scil.* That the Church and every member thereof hath entered into Covenant, either expressly or implicitey to take God for their God, and to keepe the words of the Covenant and doe them, to seeke the Lord with all their hearts, and to walke before him in truth and uprightnesse: but we never finde that they were called to give account of the worke of grace wrought in their soules, or that the whole Congregation were appointed to be Judge thereof. *You stand all of you this day (saith Moses) before the Lord your God, &c. that thou shouldst enter into Covenant with the Lord thy God.* All the people that were borne in the Wildernesse *Ioshua* circumcised, but it is incredible to thinke that among that great multitude, there was not one who did not give good testimony of the worke of grace in his soule: We reade often times that *Israel* after some grievous fall and revolt, renewed their Covenant, to walke with God, to serve him onely, and to obey his voyce, as in the dayes of *Ioshua*, the *Judges*, *David*, *Samuel*: Also *Joash*, *Iosiah*, and *Nehemiah*, &c. But no particular enquiry was made, what worke of grace God had wrought in the hearts of every singular person. But the confession and profession of obedience was taken. When *John Baptist* began to preach the Gospel, and gather a new people for Christ, he admitted none to Baptisme but upon confession of their sinnes; but we reade of no question that he put forth unto them to discover the worke of grace in their soules, or repelled any that voluntarily submitted themselves upon that pretence. It appeareth many wayes that when the Apostles planted Churches, they made a Covenant between God and the people whom they received. But they received men upon the profession of

Exod. 24. 37.

Deut. 2. 14.

& 4. 3. 4.

& 9. 7.

Ezek. 16. 6. 8.

Nu. 23. 48. 50.

Deut. 29. 10.

11, 12,

Josh 24. 1. 14.

23, 24, 25.

Judg. 2. 8. 11.

& 3. 9. 15.

& 6. 7.

& 10. 10-17.

2 Chr. 15. 12

2 Kin. 11. 17.

& 23. 3.

2 Chr. 34. 31.

Heb. 10. 29. 30

Act. 2. 38.

& 8. 37. & 19.

17, 18, 19.

faith, and promise of amendment of life, without strict inquirie what sound work of grace was wrought in the soul. In after ages, strangers from the covenant were first instructed in the faith, and then baptised upon the profession of faith, and promise to walk according to the covenant of grace. Now the profession at first required of all that were received to baptism was that  
 Act. 8. 37. they beleevd in the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost. This was the confession of the Eunuch when he was baptised, *I belevee that Jesus Christ is the Sonne of God.* The Creed is honoured of the ancients with glorious titles, as the rule of faith, the summe of faith, the body of faith, the perswasions of faith: but by the Creed they understand that rule of faith, and law of faith, and institution of Christ which was then given when he was about to ascend into heaven, and commanded his disciples, saying, *Go teach all Nations, &c.* It is true, that in after times as occasion required some other Articles were added as explanations of the former, to meet with the heresies of the times which began to trouble the Church. But for substance of matter in things to be beleevd, the Church never required other acknowledgement of them that were to be received into the congregation of Christs flock, and admitted into her communion. And for things to be done, or the practicall part, she requireth of them that were to be received to baptism an abrenuntiation of the devill, the world, and the flesh, with all their sinfull works and lusts.

The first principles then of the doctrine of Christ being received, and the fore-said profession being made, the Apostles, and the Church following the example of the Apostles, never denied baptism unto such as sought or desired it. If this be the Covenant that members admitted into Church-fellowship do enter into, and this be all you require of them whom you receive, you have the practise of the Apostles, and the whole Church in after ages for your president. But if you proceed further then thus, and put men to declare what worke of grace God hath wrought in their soul, in this or that way, which perhaps is not determined by the word of grace, at least not agreed upon among your selves, we beseech you consider by what authority you do it, and upon what grounds you stand. But we will enter no further upon this matter, because it comes not within the compasse of these Positions, and to attribute so much to private letters, as to make them the ground of another dispute we may not.

## VII. POSITION.

*That a Minister is so a Minister of a particular Congregation, that if they dislike him unjustly, or leave him, he ceaseth to be a Minister.*

*Answer.*

**O**Ur Answer to this consists in two branches. 1. In case a Minister be set aside by the Church meerly through his own default. 2. By the Churches default

default without any desert of his. In the former case it is evident he ceaseth to be a Minister to them any longer, as appears in foure conclusions.

1. It is cleare from the Word, that a Pastor or Teacher in these dayes hath no Apostolicall power over all Churches, but onely limited to that one Church where God hath set him. *Paul* gives not the Elders at *Ephesus* a generall Commission to go teach all Churches, but to go feed that one flock over which the holy Ghost hath made them over-seers. *Act. 20. 28.* So *Peter* gives direction to Elders to feed that flock of God onely which was among them, and take the over-sight thereof. *1 Pet. 5. 2.*

2. It is as cleare that all this power of feeding which the Minister hath in that Church is nextly derived to him from Christ by the Church, who hath solemnly called him to the work, and promised to obey him therein: for if he have it elsewhere, it must be either from Christ immediately, or from some other men deputed by Christ to conferre it on him, or he must take it up of himselfe. Not the first, for that was proper to the Apostles or Apostolicall men, therefore *Paul* proving his Apostleship, saith he was called *not of men, nor by men, but by Jesus Christ himselfe. Gal. 1. 1.* Not the second, for we never read in Gods Word that any ordinary Officers, or other besides the Church, that had any Commission given them from Christ to call Ministers unto Churches. Not the third, for no man taketh this honour, *viz.* of a Priest under the Law, or of a Minister under the Gospe!, but he that is called of God, *Hebr. 5. 4.* Therefore it must needs be from Christ by the Church.

3. As the Church in the name of Christ gave this power to a Minister to be what he is, and do what he doth amongst them: when such a Minister shall make and manifest himself apparently, unworthy, and unfit to discharge the place, which they thus called him unto, so that they may discern that Christ the head of the Church hath refused him, from being a Minister unto him, they may then upon as good grounds depose him from it, as they called him to it.

4. When a Church hath thus in Christs name put forth this power of shutting, as before it did of opening to a Minister, then he must cease to be a Minister unto them any more, for we know no such indelible character imprinted upon a Minister, that the Ministry ceasing, the Minister ceaseth also.

2. In case the Church shall without cause, or sufficient weightie cause, rashly or wilfully set him aside whom Christ hath set over them, and whom they so solemnly called, and promised before the Lord to submit unto, and so abuse their power given them by Christ; it is doubtlesse a very great wrong unto the Minister, and sinne against Christ himselfe before whom it was done; and not onely Christ himself will take it ill at their hands, for such contempt done to him in his Ministers according to Christs speech, *Luke 10. 16. He that rejecteth you, rejecteth me.* And Gods speech, *1 Sam. 8. 7. They have not cast off thee but me.* But even other Churches also may admonish them. And if they prove obstinate therein,

therein, withdraw the right hand of fellowship from them; and concerning the Minister himself thus deposed, seeing it is done not by Christ, but by the Church without Christ, yea against the mind of Christ, we conceive though he be by them deprived of the execution of his ministry among them, yet untill he accepts of a call to another people, he doth yet still remain a Minister of Christ, in whose account (notwithstanding such deposition) he hath true right of administration among that people.

*Reply.*

**T**He question is of Ministers unjustly forsaken, or driven from the Church or congregation: and your answer is for the most part of Ministers set aside or deprived through their own default. We never purposed to speak one word for any unworthy Minister whom Christ hath put out of office, and therefore your labour to prove that such justly rejected by the Church are no longer Ministers might well have been saved. But sitting them aside, we will in few words examine your conclusions upon which you bind the certainty of that sentence you passe against them.

First, it is certain and clear from the Word, that a Pastor or Teacher neither in these dayes hath, nor in any other age of the Church, ought to have Apostolicall power over all Churches. The Apostles had onely power to serve the Church with the personall service of their Apostleship. But pastorall power of ordinarie Ministers or Teachers they never had: and if the Apostles had not the power of ordinarie Ministers, much lesse can Pastors receive the power of Apostles, for Christ gave both the one and the other order. But as the Apostles were not Pastors of that Church to which they preached, and among whom they continued for some space; no more do Pastors become Apostles if they preach the Word, or dispence the Sacraments to another flock or people beside their own, whereof they have the speciall oversight. But of this matter we have spoken before, and of the texts of Scripture here alledged, therefore we will not repeat what hath been said alreadie: onely it seemeth somewhat strange, that you should cite those texts of Scripture, as if the Apostle had said, feed one flock, or feed that flock of God onely. For we find the word (one) or (onely) neither in the text expresly, nor in the sense for which it is here alledged, *viz.* as if he might not perform any ministeriall act in another Congregation upon any occasion whatsoever.

Secondly, the power of feeding which the Minister hath is neither confined to one societie onely, nor nextly derived to him from Christ by the Church. The office and authoritie of a Pastor is immediately from Christ. The deputation of the person which Christ hath designed is from the Church ministerially, but neither virtually nor formally. The consent of the people is requisite in the election of Pastors and Teachers we grant, the direction of the Elders going be-  
fore

fore or along with them; but the authoritie, office, and gift of a Pastor is not from the people or Elders, but from Christ alone. *Whit. de pont. q. 1 ca. 1. p. 14.* When an Apostle was to be chosen in the place of Judas, *Act. 1. 22, 23.* no one had the handling of that businesse, but Peter declared unto the brethren present, what an one ought to be taken, and they present two, whereof one was elected by lot. In this example somethings are extraordinarie, for one onely was to be chosen, and that immediately by God himselfe: and somethings ordinarie for our imitation. For if Peter would do nothing without consent of the disciples, then may not ordinarie elections be passed without consent and approbation of the Church, but it is not a popular election, not governed by the fore-direction of Elders, which is concluded from this passage of Scripture: but a Church election by the free consent, and judgement of the faithfull with the fore-leading of the Presbyterie. When Deacons were to be chosen, *Act. 6. 1. 6.* in the Church of Jerusalem, it was done by the consent of the Church. The mutinie of the *Hellenists* against the *Hebrews* occasioned that election, but was no cause why it was made by free consent. The Apostles shew what persons must be chosen, and who ever thought the Church was left at libertie to chuse as she please without direction. But in this election the people did first chuse, the Apostles onely directing whom the people ought to make choice of: when most commonly the Apostles instructed the people, and went before them in the election, and they consented. *Act. 14. 23.* The Apostles by consent chose Elders, and so in every matter of great importance belonging directly to the whole bodie of the Church, whether severally in one congregation, or joynly in many, the consent of the faithfull by observation of the Apostles was required. *Act. 11. 22. and 15. 22. and 16. 4. 1 Cor. 8. 19.* But in the primitive times after the Apostles, one Church might elect and chuse a Pastor for another. As *Iguatius* exhorts the Phyladelphians, that they would elect a Pastor for the Church of Antioch. And so when the East Church was infected with *Arrianisme*, *Basil. epist. 69. 70. 74.* thought it a fit meanes to remove the heresie, if the Bishops of Italie being sent thither did condemne the heresie, and he imploreth the aid of the Bishops of Italy, France, and all the East. *Cyprian Ep. 13. li. 3.* faith, all Bishops *sunt mutua concordia glutine copulati*: that if any hold heresie the rest should help. It would be too long to reckon up examples which in this case might be produced. If here it be questioned whether your election of the people be essentiall to the calling of a Minister: We answer, 1. A thing is essentiall two ways. First, as absolutely necessarie, so that the thing can have no existence without it. Secondly, as necessarie to the integritie of the thing, so that it is maimed without it.

Againe, either the people be few in number, and simple apt to be led aside, unable to judge of the sufficiencie of their Minister, or they be more in number, increased in wisdom, sound in faith, and able to discern betwixt things that

differ. In the first sense the election of the people is not necessary or essential; But in the second we cannot say he is no Minister that is not chosen by the people, but his calling in that respect is maimed. If the people be few and simple, apt to be deceived, they stand in more need of guidance and direction, both from their own Elders, and other Churches. If the people be many in number, full of wisdom and understanding, their libertie to choose is the greater; and it is the greater wrong to be deprived of it. The practise of the Apostles and the primitive Churches for many ages will confirme this; for sometimes men were propounded to the Church to be chosen: Sometimes the choice was wholly left to them: and was not that for our direction, that more libertie is given where the danger is lesse, and more restraint and caution used where the danger is more apparent, that if they be left to themselves, either an ill or unfit choice will be made? In reason this is evident, for the child's consent is required in marriage, but the more able he is to choose for himselfe, the more libertie may parents grant, the lesse able, the more watchfull must they be; and so in this business. Brotherly societie requires that we mutually exhort, admonish, reprove and comfort each other as occasion requires, and as need requires. It is a dutie of Neighbour-Churches to lend their helpe to their brethren in the choice and election of their Minister. When the Scripture willeth that one should admonish another, it is not onely a command to every singular man towards his fellow, but also to any whole company too: another *Bel. de Cler. li. 2. c. 7.* societie Bellarmine asketh, *quo jure unus populus Episcopum aliterius populi elegere potest?* Junius answereth; *Certe charitatis jure & communionis sanctorum.* And Paul when he teacheth that all the faithful are members of one mysticall body of Christ, who ought to have a mutuall care one of another, laid the foundation of this policie. *1 Cor. 12. 13.*

It is a blemish in the calling of a Minister, if either the people be not fit to choose, or being fit they be shut forth from the choice, but this maim doth not make a nullitie in his calling; for in every true Church where the word is preached and received, and the Sacraments for substance rightly administered, there is a true and lawfull Ministry, and a true and lawfull calling of that Ministry, though in some things defective. In the Church of God all sound and saving truth is to be found, for it is the pillar and ground of truth, and where the true profession of all saving truth, with the right use of the Sacraments for substance is to be found, there is the Church, which ordinarily cannot be had, maintained and continued without a lawfull Ministry, nor that without a calling. The saving truth of God & a lawfull Ministry, are both essentiall to a true Church. Something of this remaines in every compleat societie that hath any thing of the Church; and for essence and substance they are true in every true, lawfull, compleat societie. The profession of the truth may be true and sound in all necessary

cessary and fundamentall points, though mixed with diverse errors, and the Ministry for truth and substance lawfull, though many wayes deficient. In the true Church there is a true Ministry, but the true Church hath continued there by the blessing of God, where the election of Ministers hath been given away by the people, or taken from them. In the primitive Church, when the people had a voyce in the choice of their Pastor, oftentimes there were factions in the Church, the people stood against their guides and challenged the whole power of election to themselves. Sometimes they were divided among themselves. Sometimes they gave away their power, at least in part, and sometimes Ministers were set over them without their councell and advice, whose Ministry notwithstanding was not reputed voyde and of none effect. If it be objected that many things were amisse in those primitive elections, what will follow thence, but that the Ministry may be lawfull and good, where there be many wants in the manner of calling? If this be not granted, what shall be done when the people and their Elders be divided in the choice of a fit Officer. If the people prevaile against their Elders, he whom they choose is no Minister to them, because not chosen by their suffrages: if the Elders against the people, he whom they approve is no Minister unto theirs, because not chosen by their suffrage; And so if there be dissention they must separte from, or excommunicate one another, because he is no Minister to the one whom the others approve. The Orthodox Pastors did professe, so that the *Donatists* would returne to the true and Apostolicall doctrine, they would not disallow their Bishops, that they might understand that Catholiques did not detest Christian consecration (as *Augustine* speaks) by humane error. The high Priesthood was bought and sold for money, and sometimes made annuall, and every yeare new high Priests created, *Sicut isti praefecti quos singulis annis promutant reges*, as *Sol: farchi* saith. That as every man would lay out more or lesse money, he should get or lose the Priesthood, which may be seene in the examples of *Jason* or *Menelaus*.

Neverthelesse, so long as the *Jewes* continued the true Church of God, the Priesthood was true also. The reformed Churches who have separated from the abominations of *Rome*, professe the first reformers among them received some ordinary calling in the *Romane* Synagogue. They that thinke the basest of *Rome*, will acknowledge Baptisme unduely administred by Priests or Jesuites, to be for substance the holy Sacrament of Christ. And if the Baptisme of God may be derived from the Ministry, it is no absurditie to thinke

*Theod. hist. l. 4. c. 6. Aug. Epist. 110. & 225. Socrat. hist. l. 7. c. 34, 35, 39. Zozom. hist. l. 2. c. 18, 19. Nazian. in Epitaphium patris Evagr. l. 2. c. 5. 8. Theod. hist. l. 5. c. 23. Jun. animadver in Bel. cont. 5. l. 1. c. 7. nor. 16, 17. Cartur. reply 2d. part 1. pa. 212. Illiris. catal. test. li. 2. tit. Ecclesie gubern.*

*Jos. Antiq. l. 20. c. 18. c. 4. Sec Ambros. de officijs. l. 1. c. 50. Hieron. ad Ocean & Epist. ad Nepotian. T. C. Reply 1. pa. 41. & Rever. Cathol. orth. tract. 2. q. 8. Sect. 3. Cartur. Reply 2. par. 1. pa. 273.*

that the first seekers of reformation derived authoritie from Christ to preach the Word and administer the Sacraments by them, as Stewards used of God to set them in that office: for the seekers of reformation derived their authoritie from God, and that which is instituted by Christ, is not made voyde by the corruptions of men.

The third and fourth consideration we will passe over, because from what hath been spoken, it is easie to understand in what sense they may be admitted, and in what denyed, and we have no desire to trouble you with the examination of that which falleth not into question.

As for the second branch of your Answer, that in case the Church shall without cause, or without sufficient weightie cause, rashly or wilfully set him aside whom Christ hath set over them, yet he still remaines a Minister of Christ (untill he accepts of a call from another people) in whose account, notwithstanding such Depositions, he hath true right of administering among that people: We know not well your meaning; if this be your minde that a Minister lawfully called and set over one Congregation, is to be esteemed a Minister in the usuall Church, as the particular Church hath unitie with, and is part of the universall or Catholique: and as a partie baptized is not baptized into that particular Congregation onely, but into all Churches; and that the Ministry is one, *Cuius à singulis in solidum pars tenetur*, as Cyprian speaks; and therefore though the Minister be unjustly cast off by one Congregation, yet he is not to be esteemed as no Minister, we freely consent. But if your meaning be that he is onely by right a Minister of that particular Congregation, because unjustly deposed, as formerly in the execution of his office he was a Minister to them onely, and to none other societie whatsoever, or in what respect soever; your opinion is contrary to the judgement and practise of the universall Church, and tendeth to destroy the unitie of the Church, and that communion which the Churches of God may and ought to have one with another; for if he be not a Minister in other Churches, then are not the Churches of God one, nor the Ministers one, nor the flocke which they feed one, nor the Communion one which they have each with other. And if the Pastor derive all his authoritie to feede from the Church, when the Church hath set him aside, what right hath he to administer among that people. If they erre in their deposition, it is true they sinne against Christ. But as they give right to an unworthy man to administer among them, if they call him unjustly, so they take right from the worthy if wrongfully they depose him. The Minister is for his Ministry the office for the execution, and so the Pastor and the flocke are relatives: And therefore if their Election gave him authoritie among them to feed, their casting him off hath stripped him of the same power which formerly they gave him. And his ministry ceasing, he should cease to be their Minister, if he stood as Minister onely to that Congregation in every respect.

*Whit. de pont. q. 4. Sec. 10. pa. 559. Certe lex natura & ratio clamar ejus est instituire ejus est destruere, five destituere, ad quem institutio pertinet ad eundem destitutionem, seu destructionem pertinere. Rob. aga. B.p. 214. If the Congregation may chuse and elect their Governours, then they may refuse and reprobate them.*

# VIII. P O S I T I O N.

*That one Minister cannot performe any ministeriall act in another Congregation.*

*Answer.*

**I**F you take ministeriall act improperly as sometimes it is taken by some, onely when the Minister of one Church doth exercise his gifts of praying and preaching in another Church, being by themselves so desired. Then we answer, in this sense a Minister of one Church may do a ministeriall act in another, which he doth not perform by vertue of any calling, but onely by his gifts; and thus upon any occasion we mutually perform those acts one in anothers Churches: But if you meane by ministeriall act, such an act of authoritie and power in dispensing of Gods ordinance as a Minister doth perform to the Church, whereunto he is called to be a Minister; then we deny that he can so perform any ministeriall act to any other Church but his own, because his office extends no further then his call. For that solemne charge, *Act. 20. 28.* is not to feed all flocks, but that one flock onely, over which the holy Ghost hath made them over-seers. If the question were propounded to any Minister so exercising in an others Church, which was once to our Saviour by the chief Priests and Elders: *By what power doest thou these things, and who gave thee this authoritie?* let that Minister whosoever he be, study how to make an answer.

*Reply.*

**T**He preaching of the Word, publick prayer in the congregation met together solemnly to worship God, and the administration of the Sacraments, are acts properly ministeriall (if any other) to be performed by power and authoritie from Christ, as you acknowledge, for the preaching of the Word, and dispensation of the Seales in your second Consideration. But these acts one Minister may performe in another Congregation, or towards the members of another Church. You know by whom your question hath been propounded touching one Ministers exercising in another Ministers Church, and how it hath been answered; and if you see more light and truth then formerly, we would desire you

To baptise is a duty of the Pastors pastoral office. *1. D. Apol Ser. exam. pa. 287.*

you substantially to confute what answers some of you have returned to that demand. To admit (saith Mr. J. D.) those that are known members of another Church to Communion in the Sacraments upon fitting occasions I hold lawfull, and do professe my readinesse to practise accordingly. Again, I conceive that (besides my membership else where, and the right which those Churches give to known passants of being admitted to the Communion for a short time) both himself and the whole Church acknowledge me for a member with them for the time of my abode in that service, which they testified by desiring the help of my publick labours, and their cheerfull admittance of me to that ordinance during that time without the least scruple. And if a Minister may pray, preach, blesse the congregation in the name of the Lord, and receive the Sacrament with them, being thereunto requested; we doubt not but by consent of the Pastor and the Congregation he may lawfully dispense the Seals amongst them also as need and occasion requires.

That distinction of preaching by office, and exercising his gifts onely, when it is done by a Minister, and desired of none but Ministers, and that in solemne, set, constant Church-assemblies, we cannot find warranted in the Word of truth, and therefore we dare not receive it.



FINIS.

